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NATIONAL GUARDIAN
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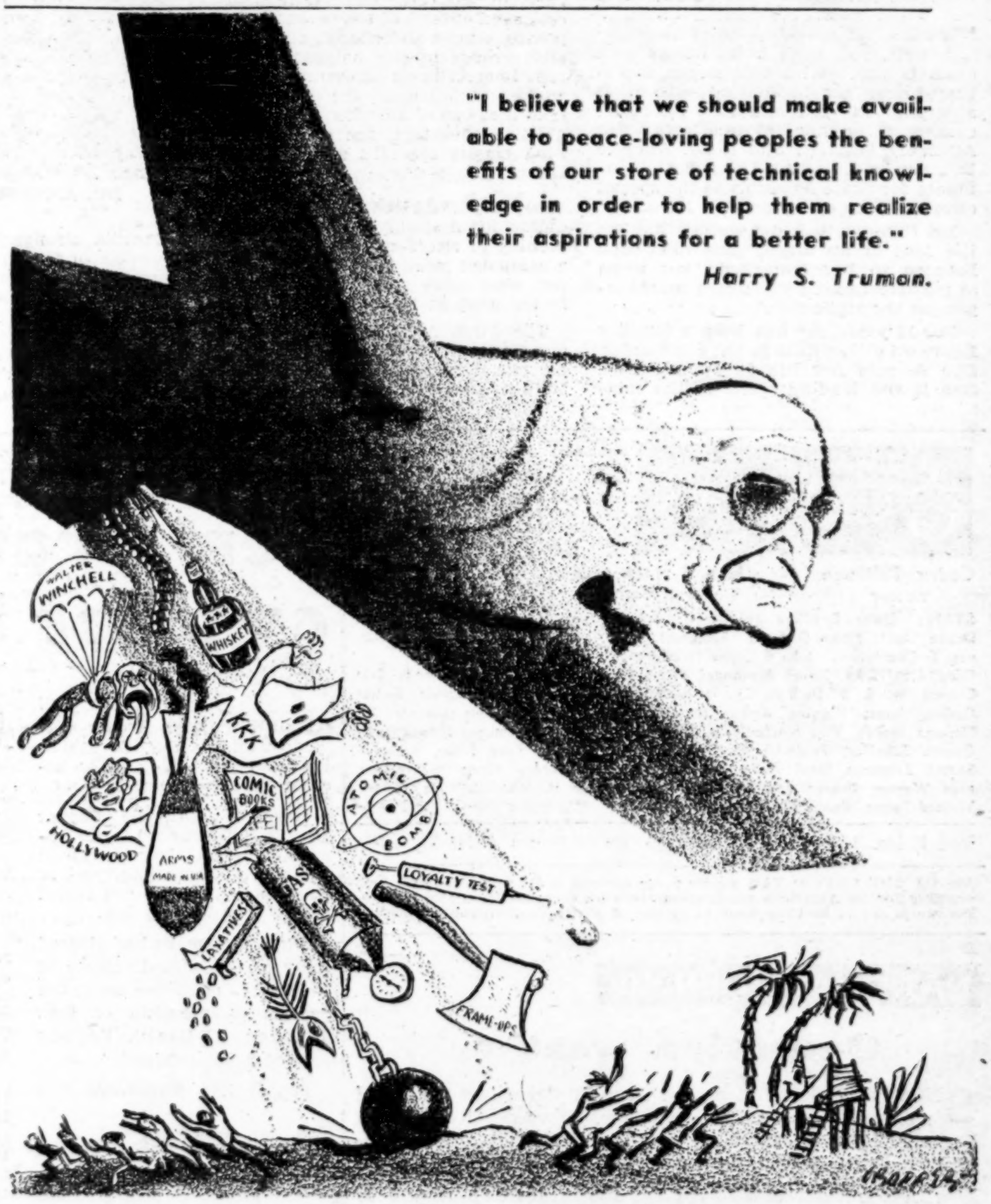

"I believe that we should make available to peace-loving peoples the benefits of our store of technical knowledge in order to help them realize their aspirations for a better life."

Harry S. Truman.

By Johannes Steel

Dear Boris: Here's how to GET peace

United States editors have been busy examining for sinister implications the friendly New Year message to Americans from Boris Isakov, Soviet journalist. Our contributor Johannes Steel, who knows Isakov, believes he meant what he said, and has written the following reply.—**Ed.**

DEAR Boris Isakov:

Together with many other friends, I have read your New Year's message to all Americans. All of us want peace and a better understanding among our peoples. The problem is how to bring it about.

A visitor from the Soviet Union, you say, feels quite at home in the company of average Americans.

I can assure you that those Americans you met at my home, and in other American homes, felt as sympathetic toward you as you did toward them. Your kindness, your interest and your intellectual curiosity made many friends for you and for your people.

I agree with you that some of the questions asked of a Soviet writer by Americans are astonishing, and that we know too little about one another. There are false notions current in the United States about the Soviet Union, just as there are false notions current in the Soviet Union about the American people.

LET us try to do something about that. Perhaps a beginning can be made by reopening the cultural, scientific and intellectual channels which have so long been closed.

As you will recall, before the outbreak of World War II a great many Americans traveled in the Soviet Union and came back with much admiration for things they had seen. There has always been much interest among Americans in the cultural achievements of the Soviet people.

I feel certain, for example, that the magnificent ballets I have seen at the Bolshoi Theater would be a tremendous success on Broadway.

An exchange of views among a group of American and Soviet intellectuals, scientists and journalists would perhaps be a good beginning to clear away some of the misunderstandings. Why should not a Soviet group come to see us and an American group come to see you and, in earnest endeavor, try to find a method by which the true peaceful aspirations of both our peoples become equally clear?

TO MY mind the cardinal mistake of the past 25 years has been the emphasis placed on the differences between our two countries. This, I believe, is the greatest obstacle to be removed.

Let us then look first at one another's achievements rather than shortcomings. Continued emphasis on our mutual differences and errors serves only to widen the breach.

Taking into account the unequal development of nations, emphasis on what we have accomplished will help to close the breach so that we eventually will see each other more clearly and without rancor.

This might well be the beginning of a better day. Let me know what you think of it.

Your friend, JOHANNES STEEL.

THE NATION

Election in Manhattan's 5th

The lady looks like an angel—but she's dynamite in the fight for progress

By Betty Friedan

"YOU can't build schools with bayonets, you can't build homes with atom bombs." With this slogan a distinguished, graying-haired woman is stumping in cold and rain on street corners throughout Manhattan's Fifth Assembly District. She is Dr. Annette Rubinstein, American Labor Party candidate for State Assembly in the special election to be called on Feb. 15.

Dr. Rubinstein is dynamite. "She has the face of an angel," one voter who listened to her remarked, "but when she starts talking it's like a machinegun on the right side."

For 15 years she has been a familiar figure on picket lines in the community. She devotes her life to other people. She is the leading spirit in the nonpartisan West Side Child Care Council composed of most of the parent-teacher groups, temple sisterhoods, church and civic groups in the neighborhood. At the Robert Louis Stevenson School, where as principal she has become known as one of America's leading progressive educators, she conducts evening classes for GI's and for Puerto Ricans.

PROGRESSIVE PREVIEW. Now, as candidate for Assembly, she winds up an evening of street-corner speeches with a campaign meeting at 10:30—and still has time after that for a couple of hours' work at the school.

DR. ANNETTE RUBINSTEIN

The Fifth Assembly District is the one that gave Henry Wallace his highest vote in any New York City district. It was always a Roosevelt and LaGuardia stronghold. The campaign—a preview of things to come in the Progressive Party—is already being compared with the famous Bronx by-election that sent Leo Isacson to Congress last January.

The possibility of sending a fighting "minority of one" to the State Legislature is bringing Congressman Vito Marcantonio to the city several times a week to give personal direction to the campaign, and Henry Wallace will participate.

NOT JUST TALK. People know it isn't just campaign talk when Dr. Rubinstein demands more state aid for schools and housing, abolition of college quotas against Negroes and Jews, and rolling back milk prices. Her record in the neighborhood includes successful fights for two new schools and a health center, two nursery schools for working mothers, two community centers, a school hot-lunch program and a free children's dental clinic.

She has been in every fight against anti-Semitism in schools, for the rights of Negroes and Puerto Ricans, and for a fairer deal for all children. Her school was the first in the city to sign a closed shop contract with the Teachers Union.

In announcing her candidacy, Dr. Rubinstein told the press: "Neither the openly reactionary Republican Party nor the demagogic Democratic Party can or will permit their representatives to do anything about these things today, any more than they will on the national scene oppose the drive to war, the denial of civil rights, the curtailment of social services and the falling living standards which their bipartisan policy is imposing on the American people."

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Vol. I, No. 16 178 JAN. 31, 1949

ABOUT THE COVER: This week's cover cartoon is William Gropper's first drawing for an American publication since his return after a year abroad. We are proud to be thus honored by one of America's distinguished artists.

NATIONAL ROUNDUP

Operation weather

SNOW and sleet fell on the western plains last week and were whipped by biting winds. Nevada, Utah, South Dakota, Kansas, Missouri, Montana, Wyoming, Nebraska and parts of California were hard hit.

In Montana and Wyoming temperatures dropped to 40 below zero. In Kansas and Missouri rain fell on telephone wires and froze into sheaths of ice two inches thick. Wires snapped and towns were cut off. Heavy rains swelled streams until floods were threatened.

In Oregon, where the temperature reached 33 below, the ground was said to be frozen 26 inches below the surface. Farmers battled to save their potato crops. In the San Bernardino Mountains of Southern California it was 24 below.

On isolated reservations Indians were caught almost beyond immediate help and few reports came in of their plight. On the ranges 2,000,000 sheep and cattle were starving in the heavy snow.

RUGGED DAYS. On a score of Army airfields C-52's and C-47s, cargo and troop carriers of the Air Force, took aboard loads of hay and feed for cattle and provisions for the Indians. They flew out to drop supplies on the frozen plains.

The President authorized the expenditure of $300,000 out of the disaster relief fund. Only $50,000 was then left in the fund and the annual floods were still to come. The President last week asked Congress for $1,000,000 to handle annual disaster. Congress gave him $500,000.

In the cities of the east people sloshed through drizzles

Continued in wide column on next page.

The week in Congress

Democrats backing water on labor bill and filibuster

By John B. Stone

WASHINGTON

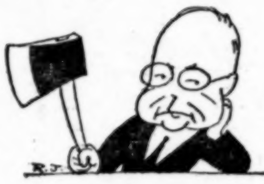
TEMPERS flared in the usually affable U.S. Senate as the cold grey week after inauguration wore on.

Fiery Sen. Claude Pepper (D. Fla.), announced in no uncertain terms that he would demand an immediate "yes" or "no" vote on unqualified repeal of the Taft-Hartley law.

When the smoke had cleared away on the closed session of the Labor Committee under the gentle chairmanship of Sen. Thomas (D-Utah), Pepper seemed a bit subdued.

Pepper had introduced and won in committee a resolution asking Taft-Hartley repeal. But the resolution also called for hearings by the committee up to Feb. 10 on amendments to the Wagner Act. These amendments were to be introduced together with the repealer and the reenactment of the Wagner Act.

TRUMAN'S BILL. Pepper manfully declared that the Democrats were keeping their promise, and that his resolution limited Wagner Act amendments to those requested by the President. In his State of the Union message the President called for legislation to end jurisdictional strikes, strikes to enforce current contracts, secondary boycotts, and strikes in vital industries which affect the public interest.



Labor Secretary Tobin was scheduled to present the President's bill before the Senate committee on Friday. But the session was canceled suddenly. There were reports of dissension in the Cabinet.

Capitol Hill skeptics thought the events of the week left a lot of room for labor-wrecking legislation. Sen. Robert A. Taft (R-Ohio), senior minority member on the committee, and author of the hated Taft-Hartley law, made no secret of his delight.

"It's the most ridiculous resolution I've ever seen," he said. "They [the Democrats] are trying to obscure the fact that they are putting across a one-package deal when they promised labor unions a two-step program."

ANOTHER MAIN storm center of the week was the sedate Senate Committee on Rules, which held lengthy hearings on proposals to limit debate. The arguments were friendly until Sen. Russell B. Long (D-La.) got impatient.

"Let's talk frankly for a while," he shouted. "You know the only reason for putting through this rule change is to sneak across the President's Civil Rights program which wouldn't pass otherwise."

Sen. Irving M. Ives (R-N.Y.) took umbrage and shouted back, "Even if there were no civil rights program under the sun, the fact that one house of the Congress is unable to control itself constitutes a great danger to the people of the United States."

COMPROMISE? Chairman Ca[illegible] Hayden (D-Ariz.) called for an end of the hearings by Friday. It seemed the Administration would compromise on extension of the two-thirds vote on cloture. Wayne Morse (R-Ore.) appeared to be fighting a losing battle for cloture on a majority vote.

Nobody seriously believed that a two-thirds rule would interfere drastically with any Southern filibuster against civil rights. And it appeared clear that even the proposal to extend the two-thirds rule would be filibustered itself.

The true meaning of the fight became clear when Sen. John C. Stennis (D-Miss.) offered to "compromise" on a debate limitation rule to be applied only in emergency matters affecting the security of the nation. Sen. Long tried another feeler by suggesting that the Senate adopt the 90% vote suggested last December by Sen. Arthur H. Vandenberg (R-Mich.).

ON Wednesday House Republican leaders decided to keep ailing J. Parnell Thomas (R-N.J.), now under criminal indictment, on the Un-American Committee. Thomas' trial on salary kickback charges was postponed to Feb. 7 on pleas of ill health.

Richard M. Nixon of California, co-author of the Mundt-Nixon bill killed by popular disapproval, was also named to keep his seat on the committee. To fill their two other vacancies Republicans picked Rep. Francis Case of South Dakota, a House veteran and Rep. Harold H. Velde of I[illegible]nois, a freshman who used to be a G-man. The appointments were subject to approval by a GOP party conference.

O. John Rogge

'Trenton case is a northern Scottsboro'

ON JAN. 20 I was retained to handle the appeal of three of the six Negroes in Trenton who were condemned to die by an all-white jury for the alleged murder of one white man.

I am in the case because I regard it as the Northern Scottsboro case. Every case presents its own special circumstances. In my whole legal career I have never encountered so many unusually challenging aspects as I already have here.

Being retained to defend the convicted men is a story in itself. Relatives of five of them retained me in the first instance. After that I wanted the condemned men to ratify the retainer. I expected them to do so as a matter of course.

WARDEN "NOT IN." I was in for some surprises. On Thursday, Jan. 13, I went to the State Prison in Trenton to get the ratifications from the men I considered my clients. I was accompanied by William Patterson, executive secretary of the Civil Rights Congress and member of the Bar of the State of New York; Emanuel Block, another member of the State Bar; and William A. Reuben of the GUARDIAN. It was the GUARDIAN, incidentally, that first called my attention to the case.

I showed letters of retainer and authorization from the relatives and asked for permission to be allowed to see the defendants.

We were told the warden was not in, and asked to wait. Half an hour later we were brought into the office of Edward P. Feehan, the warden's administrative assistant. Mr. Feehan said we could not see the prisoners. He showed us a statute pertaining to solitary confinement, which stated that except for officers of the prison, ministers, physicians and counsel, no person could visit a condemned man without a court order.

NO WAY TO ALLOW IT. I pointed out to Mr. Feehan that, having been retained by the next of kin of five of the prisoners, I considered myself their counsel.

"They already have counsel, appointed by the court," he told us.

"What if the men desire to retain different or additional counsel?" Mr. Patterson asked.

Mr. Feehan replied that there was no way for him to allow us to talk to the men. We were informed that Judge Charles Hutchinson, the trial court judge, would have to give us a court order first.

"NO AUTHORITY." We saw Judge Hutchinson in his chambers. He told us he could do nothing: the case was out of his jurisdiction. The order would have to come from Judge Vanderbilt, Chief Justice of the New Jersey Supreme Court.

At four p.m., we got in to see Judge Vanderbilt. He said he had no authority to issue a court order. He indicated that our request would have to be put in the form of a legal motion, to be presented to the full seven-man court.

We were encountering much more difficulty than I had expected. After all, I was not asking that the men be released. I was asking only for permission to see them. Nevertheless we proceeded to get up a motion as Chief Justice Vanderbilt had suggested.

This was the scene at the press conference last Wednesday. From left to right: O. John Rogge; William Patterson; Mrs. Emma English, mother of Collis English; Bessie Mitchell, sister of Collis; James H. Thorpe, father of James H. Thorpe, Jr.

Four days later, the motion was granted, with the stipulation that original counsel be present when we went to see the prisoners. It took another three days to make arrangements that were convenient to everyone involved.

Our group was probably the largest ever to enter any death house anywhere. There were seven lawyers, five relatives, two prison officials—and twelve armed guards.

We crowded into the narrow corridor. Mr. Patterson, who was the spokesman for our group, then introduced himself to the condemned men. He said he believed all six were innocent; that he was concerned only with freeing them; that, although he did not challenge their original counsel, the men now had the opportunity either to take the lawyers selected by their relatives or to remain with the state-appointed counsel.

THREE CHOSE. The relatives also spoke. Bessie Mitchell, who has been such a valiant fighter all along, choked up and began crying while she was speaking. She turned on one of the guards who was standing behind her and cried:

"I was there when you tried your legal lynching in court, now you're trying to lynch the boys here!"

James A. Waldron had been selected as spokesman for the condemned men's state-appointed lawyers. Waldron said that if we came in, it would not be as additional counsel, but to replace the original lawyers who would then withdraw from the case.

It was not an easy choice for the defendants to make. Three of them signed with us: Collis English, Ralph Cooper, and James Thorpe.

That only three signed will not affect our appeal, for in fighting for the three who are now our clients, we shall be fighting for and protecting the rights of all six.

QUESTIONS. From a preliminary examination of the trial record, which runs to more than 6,000 pages, I do know that the validity of the confessions is highly questionable.

Last December the U.S. Supreme Court, in the case **Upshaw v. United States**, ruled that convictions must be set aside where confessions were obtained not only by force, but where, whether obtained by force or voluntarily, the accused was not taken promptly before a committing magistrate. Three or four days elapsed before some of these defendants were brought before a magistrate.

There are many other legal aspects of this case that I shall discuss for GUARDIAN readers, after I have gone through the printed record.

No room in the papers for 6 facing death

SIX men wait in the death house at Trenton, N. J., to be put to death by the sovereign state of New Jersey for a murder they almost certainly did not commit.

It is really quite unimportant.

They are poor Negroes. Their names are English, Thorpe, Cooper, Forest, Wilson and McKenzie. Who cares? Tyrone Power is being divorced, and re-married in Rome.

There was no room in the inn for the carpenter's wife to have her baby. There is no room in the conservative American press for these six victims.

Last Wednesday morning O. John Rogge, former assistant Attorney General of the U. S., now in private law practice specializing in civil liberties cases, held a press conference in New York. Reporters came from nearly all the papers.

Rogge announced he was taking up the defense of three of the men. He explained briefly the points on which the conviction is wide open to challenge. The reporters took notes, asked questions.

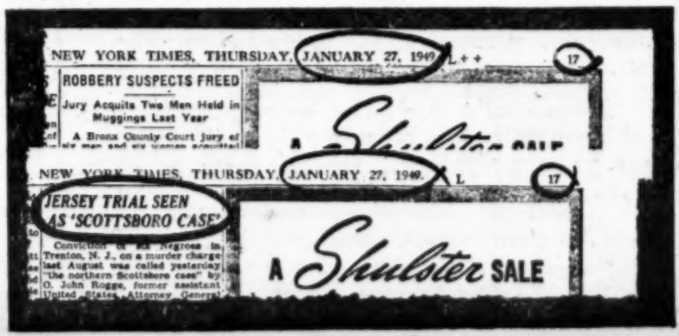
Collis English's mother and sister, and James Thorpe's father were there — poor and dignified people distinguished by nothing but the fact that their flesh and blood face death. They thanked the reporters for being there because the American people ought to know about the case. They only wanted to see justice done.

The press conference broke up. Next day the liberal **Post** and **Star** and the Communist **Worker** ran the story.

The **New York Times** had about three inches on page 17 of the first edition. In later editions the story was taken out (see below). The space was needed to report that two men charged with robbery had been acquitted in the Bronx. No other daily paper could spare an inch.

What did appear in the liberal papers caused Judge Vanderbilt, Chief Justice of the New Jersey Supreme Court, to admonish Rogge for holding the conference. Vanderbilt demanded that Rogge apologize and shut up.

Rogge wrote to Vanderbilt saying his action was entirely in conformity with professional ethics; that he had not been disrespectful to the court but on the contrary had expressed confidence in it; and that he would speak, as scheduled, at a mass meeting at Trenton on Friday in defense of the six men.



NEW YORK TIMES, THURSDAY, JANUARY 27, 1949 L++ 17

ROBBERY SUSPECTS FREED

Jury Acquits Two Men Held in Muggings Last Year

A Bronx County Court jury of

A Shulster SALE

NEW YORK TIMES, THURSDAY, JANUARY 27, 1949. L 17

JERSEY TRIAL SEEN AS 'SCOTTSBORO CASE'

Conviction of six Negroes in Trenton, N. J., on a murder charge last August was called yesterday "the northern Scottsboro case" by O. John Rogge, former assistant United States Attorney General

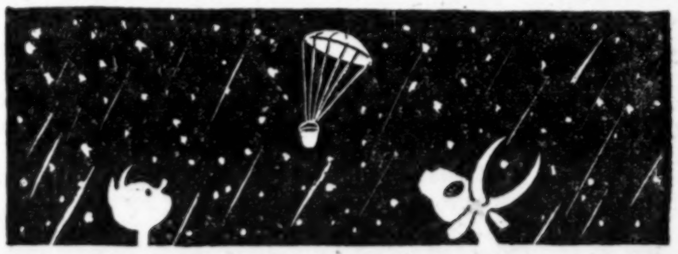
A Shulster SALE

NATIONAL ROUNDUP

Continued from wide column on preceding page.

on their way to work and read again of rugged days on the frontier.

From Van Ormy, Texas, 16 miles from San Antonio, Virgil J. Cook wrote to GUARDIAN: "I heard over a small radio where somehow feed was to be placed within reach of starving sheep. Call attention to my Texas and my Federal officials that because we have the misfortune to have brought six children into this world, they are in the same position as six of those sheep.



"Unlike some of the big West Texas sheep and goat men we cannot reach our Government as a group, so we pray you men will have a big heart and help us. Why can't we have the help of extra clothes some other American family has?"

Stockpile—for war

IN July, 1946, the U.S. government began to lay in supplies for what was called a "possible emergency." What was meant was war. Since then goods of all kinds, from lead to wheat, have been moving into 70 military depots, ten warehouses and three stand-by defense plants.

The original program called for a well-stocked war chest by July, 1951. It stipulated that purchases be made only where they would not interfere with civilian needs.

"This limitation is no longer effective," was the announcement made quietly last week by Donald F. Carpenter, chairman of the National Military Establishment's Muni-

Continued in wide column on next page.

NATIONAL ROUNDUP

Continued from wide column on preceding page.

tions Board, which runs the program. The job had been "speeded up," Carpenter explained, and in some cases hereafter, military requirements would be met first, civilian needs second. Carpenter said that he did not think the effect on the nation's civilian economy would be "too bad."

The economy

MIXED ECONOMY. The nation's economy showed trends that were mixed and uneasy. For the third month in a row retail prices fell.

Though the drop (1.8% since Dec. 15) was not very significant to housewives, the trend was significant. Post-Christmas sales were drastic. New Yorkers were smoking 5-cent cigars; mink coats could be had at half the price of a couple of months ago, but there were few takers.

"AT LEAST . . ." In Washington Secretary of the Army Royall told the House Armed Services Committee that war was "at least a possibility." Both houses of Congress were squaring away for fights or compromises on labor and civil rights legislation. (See **Congress Week,** page 2.)

POST-MORTEM. The Republican National Committee was bickering at a post-mortem in Omaha, Neb., to find out why they lost and whom to blame. Gov. Thomas E. Dewey won a small victory when his supporter, National Chairman Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania, held on to his job. But the victory, by only 4 votes, was too slim to give Dewey much hope for '52.

Trial by jury

LAST week the trial of New York's jury system became intensified. It had begun on Jan. 17 as the conspiracy trial of 11 leaders of the U. S. Communist Party who were charged with adhering to and spreading the doctrines of Karl Marx, which, the government says, advocate the overthrow of government by force and violence.

The defense had turned the tables. Challenging the whole judicial system, it sought to demonstrate that fair political trial was impossible. Talesman after talesman was called to the witness stand. Some were bankers, some industrialists — all apparently in the upper income brackets. Judge Harold R. Medina refused to countenance questions designed to get precise information about incomes. "They are clearly not poor," he said.

The defense was seeking to establish that the system of jury selection ruled out the poor, the Negro, the victimized members of minorities. On Friday, Judge Medina said he would allow no more members of the Grand Jury which indicted the Communists to be called as witnesses.

NO SPIRITUAL CONTENTMENT. In Uniontown, Pa., the man who developed the system of careful selection of juries, defended it. Judge John C. Knox, the superior of Judge Medina, said:

"Persons who have a grievance against the government or who are dissatisfied with conditions which expose them to self-denial are not likely to have the spiritual contentment and mental detachment that are essential and requisite to competent jury service. . . .

"I am told that the selection of jurors should be a democratic process and that persons who serve are handpicked. If this be a valid indictment of my conduct, I cannot do otherwise than admit my guilt. Nevertheless, unless restrained by an authority that I cannot resist, jurors in my district will continue to be handpicked."

"UN-AMERICAN." But in Washington Sen. William Langer (R - N. D.) said: "The Communists on trial in New York are right in their contention that the Grand Jury was illegally chosen. It is un-American, this handpicking of juries, and outrageous."

In the House Rep. Vito Marcantonio introduced a resolution asking an investigation of the jury picking practices in New York. He said: "This corruption of our jury system warrants a thorough investigation and removal of those responsible for it."

In Prague, Paris, London and Warsaw great crowds rallied and passed resolutions against the prosecution of the American Communists. Embassy mailboxes were jammed with protests.

...in the Ruhr

GERMAN STYLE. In Duesseldorf, in the British zone of Germany, another Communist was on trial before British

Continued in wide column on next pag

The Melish case

Is it unpatriotic to work for peace?

The following is extracted from an editorial in the current issue of "The Churchman."

AS we go to press, we receive the shocking news that the vestry of the Church of the Holy Trinity in Brooklyn, New York, has asked for the resignation of its rector, Dr. John Howard Melish, one of the most distinguished clergymen in the Protestant Episcopal Church.

By way of excusing its inexcusable action, the vestry charges that the outside activities of the assistant rector have adversely affected the parish.

BEHIND their transparent facade of spurious reasons, it is clear that the vestry's real motivation is political. The assistant rector, William Howard Melish, son of Dr. Melish, is chairman of the Council of American Soviet Friendship.

The unfavorable publicity this organization has received, as a consequence of its efforts, like those of all major Protestant communions, to avert a third world war through fostering understanding with the Soviet Union, has embarrassed the members of the vestry as much as it has others who feel it is unpatriotic to work for peace.

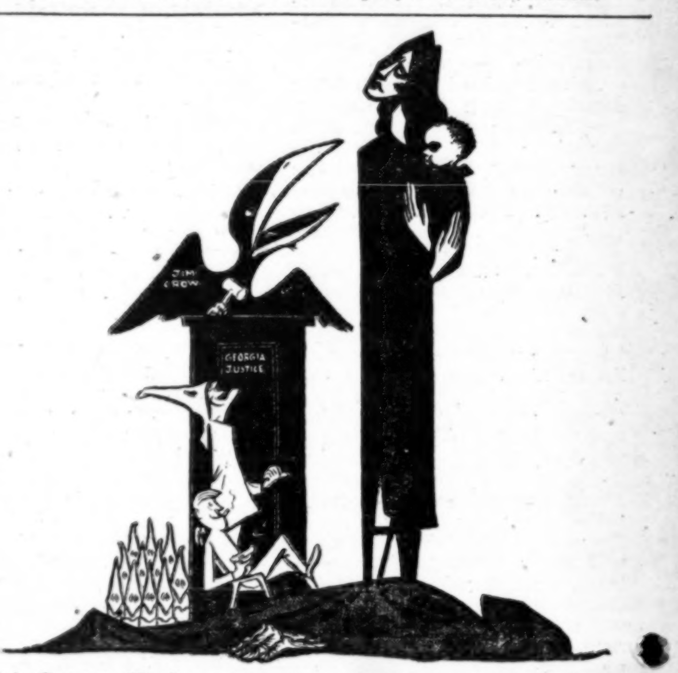
Since Dr. Melish supports his son's position, thereby continuing the liberal social policy which has characterized the forty-five years of his rectorship, nothing remained for the vestry but to attempt a clean sweep by ridding the parish of both father and son.

The vestry makes no claim to voicing the sentiments of the communicants, the majority of whom vigorously support Dr. Melish's poilcy.

IN the Holy Trinity case we have a definite demonstration of an attempt to re-introduce into the church life of America the methods of the 15th and 16th centuries, when clergymen were burned at the stake, or hanged for their political views.

Savonarola was burned in the public square of his city because he opposed the political Vatican and sought to set up a democratic government in Florence. King Henry VIII ordered the burning, hanging or beheading of a long list of clergymen for what he considered subversive activities.

If the fear-ridden vestry of Holy Trinity Church thinks that the procedure of the 15th and 16th centuries can be introduced in the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States today, and that our clergy and laymen intend to stand for it, we suggest that they indulge in some thoughtful prayer and mediation.



Artist George Korf's comment on the Georgia court decision which freed the white man accused of murdering Thom Mallard, a Negro. The figure of the woman is the widow Mallard. As far as Georgia justice is concerned, the case is dead— but Mrs. Mallard's fear is very much alive.

Have you got four friends?

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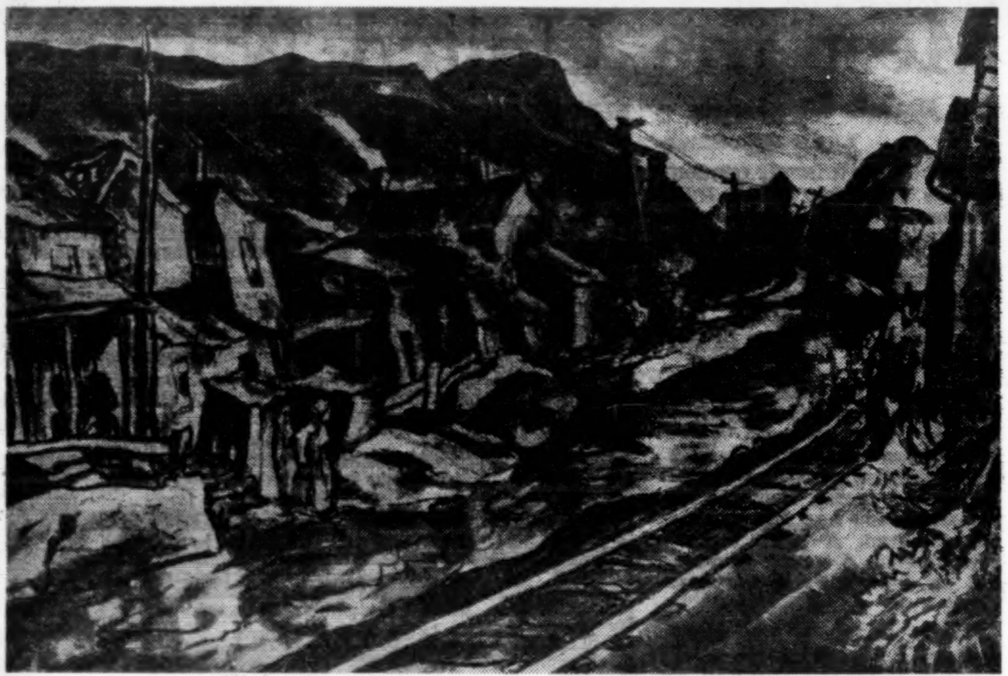


"Mining Hamlet" by Tromka (courtesy ACA Gallery)

Once a miner...

They can't wash the coal dirt out of their blood

By Ed Falkowski

SHENANDOAH, PA.

ONE of the paradoxes of the coal industry is the fierce tenacity with which the average miner clings to his hazardous calling. He counts it a major tragedy to move out of the diggings to seek his bread elsewhere. Thousands of miners continue to live in communities such as this without a prospect of ever again finding work in the shafts.

Asked why he does not attempt to leave the region, the seasoned old-timer will tell you: "Once a miner, always a miner." It is an old hard-coal country adage and still holds true in sentiment if not in fact.

"And besides," this old-timer will continue, "we're too dumb for anything else but the mines. All one needs around here is a strong back and a weak head, and we got plenty of both! We don't know nothin' but to mine coal."

Bemoaning his fate, he will call down on the industry, the region and himself the curses of the gods. "We're just the rear-end of God's creation," he will insist.

PRIDE OF VOCATION. The miner who talks in this vein is only bragging in reverse. For beneath this disarming mood of self-belittlement there burns the sensitive pride of vocation that dwells in the heart of every coal-digger.

He regards himself as a graduate of a rough-and-tumble school whose degrees are broken bones and diplomas, the rock-dust webbing the lungs. He is wise in the mysteries of nature's lower depths and familiar with the thousand subtle disguises worn by death.

A man who is able to outstare death in face-to-face encounters, and defy the numberless lurking dangers that give a mine its menacing kind of vitality, may surely take pride in his personal courage and feel himself as good as anyone who walks the earth. All this is implied in what to him is the grandest of all titles a man can bear—that of a coal miner.

Last year 165 anthracite miners met violent death while at work. Another 118 perished during the first ten months of 1948. The colliery ambulance arriving in town with its load of mangled human freight continues to be a sight all too common.

Does any miner know whether he will survive another year, a month or even a day at his job? Surely not one.

WIT VS. NATURE. The miner recognizes the ever-present element of danger as a seaman accepts the caprices of the sea. Each day he measures his wit and strength against the iminence of falling rock, bursting coal seams, exploding gas pockets, fire, noxious fumes that sear the lungs.

The best miner is by nature an adventurer and explorer for whom the routine of factory work would be unbearable. There is little routine to his job.

The twistings and turnings and writhings of the coal-seams create conditions that continually challenge his cunning and skill. In time he finds a rapport with the darkness and the damp, the crackling of the mountain "working" overhead and the wrinkly face of the coal-seam glistening in the lamplight. He becomes a shrewd interpreter of the mine's own peculiar lingo of burpings and belchings and gruntings.

COMRADESHIP. The miner's work day—a kind of guerrilla battle with hidden danger—engenders a camaraderie known only among seamen and soldiers, a spirit of loyalty in the presence of a common menace.

He has won for himself a latitude of self-responsibility known in few other industries. He is largely his own boss and plans the strategy of his own campaign; the foreman's authority is seldom exerted beyond occasional technical advice.

Small wonder then that he is a man of considerable inner pride and dignity, and his mood, one of almost perpetual militancy. Mine committees usually have their hands full of fresh complaints, for good miners, like good soldiers, are known for their chronic "bitching."

WHAT PENSIONS MEAN. Experts claim the region still has coal reserves for another 160 years at current output. But the advent of large-scale strip-mining—giant caesarian operations performed upon the earth's surface by the use of electric shovels and other power equipment—promises a further reduction in the numbers of "deep mine" coal-diggers now employed.

It used to be said that a miner began and ended his career picking slate in a coal-breaker. The modern mechanized super-breaker has done away with this last sanctuary. Not even a boy's job is available to him after the mines have devoured his strength.

Fortunately the new miners' pension fund will provide a measure of security in his declining years, another compelling reason for a miner to cling to his industry through thick and thin.

Rooted by home and work to his native hills, and identified with the rich store of traditions that garnish the miner's profession, he feels it would be akin to treason to move elsewhere.

But if perchance he is tempted to yield, he invariably returns again and again, unable to overcome his nostalgic pangs. For the coal-dirt is in his blood and there is nothing he can do to wash it out again.

NATIONAL ROUNDUP

Continued from wide column on preceding page.

judges. He was Max Reimann, Communist leader in the Western zones. He was charged with threatening Germans who were or could be useful to the British military government.

GUARDIAN correspondent Emil Carlebach last week sent this report of the trial:

"The tiny trial room was packed with German workers. It had room for 20 persons besides the court personnel. Sixty reporters, 30 photographers and hundreds of witnesses fought to get in. Finally the reporters landed on the defendant's bench and Reimann in the public benches. The judge couldn't get started because of the strains of the Internationale ringing through the corridors and cries of 'Hoch Reimann' (Up Reimann). Communist functionaries finally restored order.

"When the day's session was over Reimann was carried out of the court and to his office on the shoulders of an enthusiastic crowd. The British placed a ban on all meetings of the Communist Party lest these influence the trial."

Right to teach

HIGHER LEARNING. Last week three professors who had taught in the University of Washington for more than 20 years were dismissed. Two of them, Dr. Herbert Phillips of the Department of Philosophy and Dr. Joseph Butterworth, professor of English, had declared themselves to be Communists. A third, Dr. Ralph Gundlach of the Psychology Department, had told investigators: "You can't prove that I am a Communist and I can't prove that I'm not."

No offense was charged, no incompetence claimed. Drs. Phillips and Butterworth were fired for their political beliefs; Dr. Gundlach for an "alleged ambiguous relationship to the Communist Party."

The Association of University Professors is investigating the case. The Bureau of Academic Freedom of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions has retained former Assistant U. S. Attorney General O. John Rogge to handle a court suit which will ask reinstatement.

THE HUNTED. In Chicago Dr. Thomas I. Cook, professor of political science at the University of Washington, announced his resignation in protest against the dismissals.

In New York Mrs. Ralph Gundlach told the GUARDIAN of some of the physical and emotional strains and stresses of a modern American witch-hunt.

VOICES IN THE NIGHT. "And a by-product of the hysteria," Mrs. Gundlach said, "is the self-appointed vigilante. In a community the size of Seattle there are many of these.

"They harass you with threatening phone calls. They send anonymous threats against your children. They deliver anonymous instructions to 'get out of town.' Always anonymous. In the middle of the night the phone rings with a threatening nameless voice on the other end, and the phone itself is tapped, we are convinced.

"And then there is the rumor campaign, the gossip, the ugly talk. On top of everything else, this is quite an additional strain."

The stores choose

LAST SEPTEMBER two locals seceded from the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union (CIO). The parent body under Pres. Samuel Wolchok branded the departing dissidents as Communist-dominated.

When the CIO met, Pres. Wolchok found his right-wing sympathies no defense against the charge leveled at his union by CIO national officials—that it had failed to organize the workers. The CIO threatened to enter the field with an organizing committee and cut the ground from under the unions.

On Dec. 20 Wolchok announced that he was taking an "indefinite rest." The union made peace overtures to the departed left-wing locals and tried to mollify the right-wing pressure from on top.

By last week workers in four large New York department stores had ploughed through the mass of conflicting claims and made their choice. It was emphatically left-wing. Gimbels, Hearns and Saks 34th St. signed first with the now independent unions. Loeser's saw no need for an election when local leaders turned up with membership cards from 90% of the employees.

DEATH OF A PAPER. In New York the **Star** ceased publication. Last June it had succeeded **PM.** Both papers had been liberal and courageously experimental in news presentation, but could not wipe out the chronic deficit of liberal publications in a press economy ruled by advertising.

The paper's passing was felt not only by its 140,000 readers and its 408 employees, but by thousands of progressives who had counted it as an ally.

WORLD ROUNDUP

...but not so bold

ON JAN. 20 the President in his Inaugural called for "a bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advancement and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas."

Last week his new and highly polished Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, took the bloom off the President's promise. He said that the contemplated operation would be a "two-way street." He told newsmen that any foreign country which wanted American capital would have to create conditions under which "investors may fairly put their money."

It was not yet clear just what price the world's "underdeveloped areas" would have to pay for the President's "bold, new program."

NO SALE. There were some countries where people granted that the program was bold but doubted that it was new, since capital had been invested at a price for a great many years.

Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union refused to participate in the original Marshall Plan because it carried a price-tag in terms of interference with their economies. Last week, ignoring the new Truman-Acheson plan, they formed themselves into a Council for Economic Mutual Assistance.

Since cordial trade relations had already done so much for their collective recovery, they explained, still closer economic ties could only help more. Moreover, they added, the U. S., Britain and other Western European countries had been "boycotting trade relations" with them.

The Council might be an answer to the Marshall Plan; it was not a duplicate of it. No rich uncle was to call the turn. It was to be an organization of mutual economic aid. Nations in the council were to have equal voting powers. It was to meet periodically. Membership was to be open to other nations sharing the Council's objectives.

Exchange of raw materials and machine goods in Eastern Europe has been proceeding barter-fashion for some time. The formation of the Council seemed to do litle more than set up machinery for the deals.

ANOTHER THREAT. U. S. commentators were bitter and gloomy. Typical was the **N. Y. Herald Tribune,** which termed the Council "the mere economic counterpart of the Cominform." To meet its threat, the paper said, "the West must expand its opportunities." The paper favored the President's plan to dispatch missionaries of American business to remote parts.

Election in Israel

THE people of Israel, flushed with military victory, went to the polls last week to pick the men who would draft the constitution under which their new nation would be governed.

At the week-end, with the army vote still to be counted, **Mapai,** the moderate labor party of Prime Minister David Ben Gurion, was in the lead with 35% of the vote. The party had promised that private enterprise would be encouraged, foreign capital invited. In foreign affairs the regime would be neutral but facing rather hopefully to the west.

The second party was the religious bloc, with 13% of the vote. It is composed of several small factions which pooled their candidates and their resources. They had insisted in their campaign on the observation of the Sabbath and the dietary laws, and religious education. Against them cries of clericalism were raised.

ONE ARAB. The **Mapam** came close after, with 12%. It represents left-wing labor which stands for strict guarantees of the rights of trade unions, firmer reliance on trade with Eastern Europe than on Western capital investments. When votes of the Palmach (shock troops of the Israeli army) are counted, it is expected that Mapam's percentage will grow.

Menachem Beigin's **Cherut** party, political group whose philosophy stems from the outlawed Irgun, polled 11%. The Communists got 3%. It is not clear how many seats the Communists will get, but one of them, in any case, will be held by an Arab — the only one elected.

Ben Gurion's Mapai, though triumphant, was still not independent. Even allied with the religious bloc, it would lack a clear majority. Mapam held the balance of power.

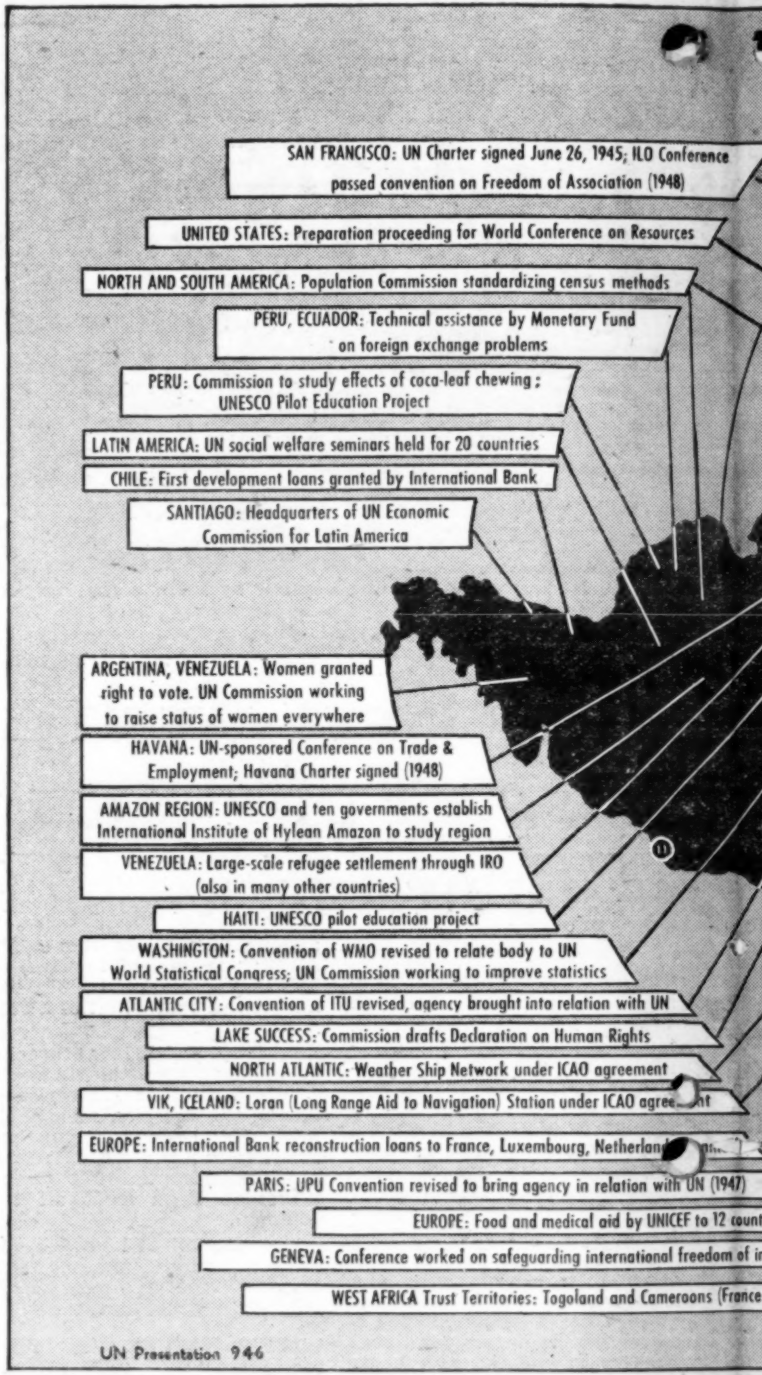
On the Island of Rhodes meanwhile, Egyptians and

Continued in wide column on page 8

Meet the United Nations—an

By **Marcelle Hitschmann**

LAKE SUCCCESS


SAN FRANCISCO: UN Charter signed June 26, 1945; ILO Conference passed convention on Freedom of Association (1948)
UNITED STATES: Preparation proceeding for World Conference on Resources
NORTH AND SOUTH AMERICA: Population Commission standardizing census methods
PERU, ECUADOR: Technical assistance by Monetary Fund on foreign exchange problems
PERU: Commission to study effects of coca-leaf chewing; UNESCO Pilot Education Project
LATIN AMERICA: UN social welfare seminars held for 20 countries
CHILE: First development loans granted by International Bank
SANTIAGO: Headquarters of UN Economic Commission for Latin America
ARGENTINA, VENEZUELA: Women granted right to vote. UN Commission working to raise status of women everywhere
HAVANA: UN-sponsored Conference on Trade & Employment; Havana Charter signed (1948)
AMAZON REGION: UNESCO and ten governments establish International Institute of Hylean Amazon to study region
VENEZUELA: Large-scale refugee settlement through IRO (also in many other countries)
HAITI: UNESCO pilot education project
WASHINGTON: Convention of WMO revised to relate body to UN World Statistical Congress; UN Commission working to improve statistics
ATLANTIC CITY: Convention of ITU revised, agency brought into relation with UN
LAKE SUCCESS: Commission drafts Declaration on Human Rights
NORTH ATLANTIC: Weather Ship Network under ICAO agreement
VIK, ICELAND: Loran (Long Range Aid to Navigation) Station under ICAO agree[illegible]nt
EUROPE: International Bank reconstruction loans to France, Luxembourg, Netherland[illegible]
PARIS: UPU Convention revised to bring agency in relation with UN (1947)
EUROPE: Food and medical aid by UNICEF to 12 count
GENEVA: Conference worked on safeguarding international freedom of i
WEST AFRICA Trust Territories: Togoland and Cameroons (France
UN Presentation 946

IT looked like a family reunion—the reopening of the U.N. session at Lake Success—and it lasted for three weeks. People were falling into each other's arms, shaking hand furiously, in the corridors, in the Delegates' Lounge, in the partitioned cubby-holes in the cafeteria.

You could tell who had been in Paris by the tricky cigarette lighters they snapped open under your amazed nose. The girls exhibited sumptuous compacts and smart hair-dos. A correspondent had his appendix removed. A press officer got married. A young attache fell in love with a Parisian siren.

Nearly everybody was sorry to leave Paris: delegates, staff members and correspondents felt they had been welcome guests, which is not always the way one feels at Lake Success.

The United Nations Headquarters — on Long Island 15 miles from New York — is a miracle of remodeling, if one takes into account the fact that it is a reconverted gyroscope factory.

The Delegates' Lounge is a peaceful oasis of deep light-grey armchairs and couches, heavy tea-rose carpets, brown wood paneled walls and a semicircular bar presided over by well-groomed bartenders whose policy is immediately to forget what they hear.

Two huge rooms—for the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council—are equipped with comfortable leather chairs for the public, elevated press galleries at one end and immense horseshoe tables at the other. At these tables delegates sit and often quarrel through their individual microphones.

Small glass booths run along three walls, isolating translators, radio broadcasters, photographers and newsreel cameramen.

What is said at the Council's table often makes pessimistic headlines and keeps the world in a state of frustration. But here, despite the blasts carried into the press bar and the press section through irritating loudspeakers, the atmosphere is extravagantly peaceful.

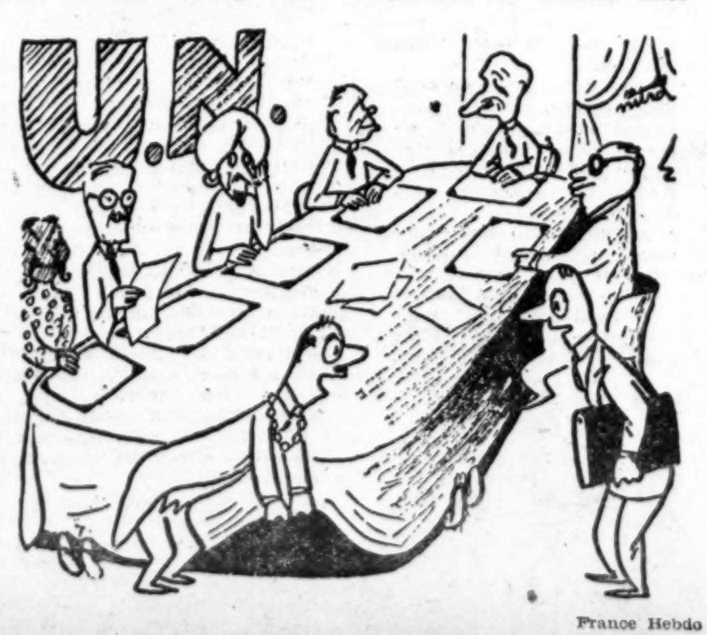
There are so many attractive girls running through the echoless corridors that you get the impression that the United Nations is controlled by women. But that is not so. Of all 3,111 employees of the Secretariat, 55% are women, mostly secretaries, typists, clerks, translators. Few occupy top jobs and the Staff Committee, which represents the workers' interests, often points that out to the Administration.

COMPLAINTS of all sorts give lasting headaches to the Administration. Some of them are voiced by the staff, others by member states—particularly small nations. They complain that they are not fairly represented in the Secretariat. The fact is that representation is based on the percentage of financial contribution by each country. The U.S. at present assumes about 38% of UN's expenses and employs 1,550 nationals. Many of these are drivers, cooks, messengers, maintenance technicians.

A real effort is being made now to recruit people in many countries. Sessions are held at the UN to train students who come from all over the world and who will later get jobs at headquarters.

There are countries like Ethiopia, San Salvador, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Nicaragua, and even the Byelorussian Soviet Republic which are not represented at all (though they are entitled to be), simply because their citizens have not applied for a job.

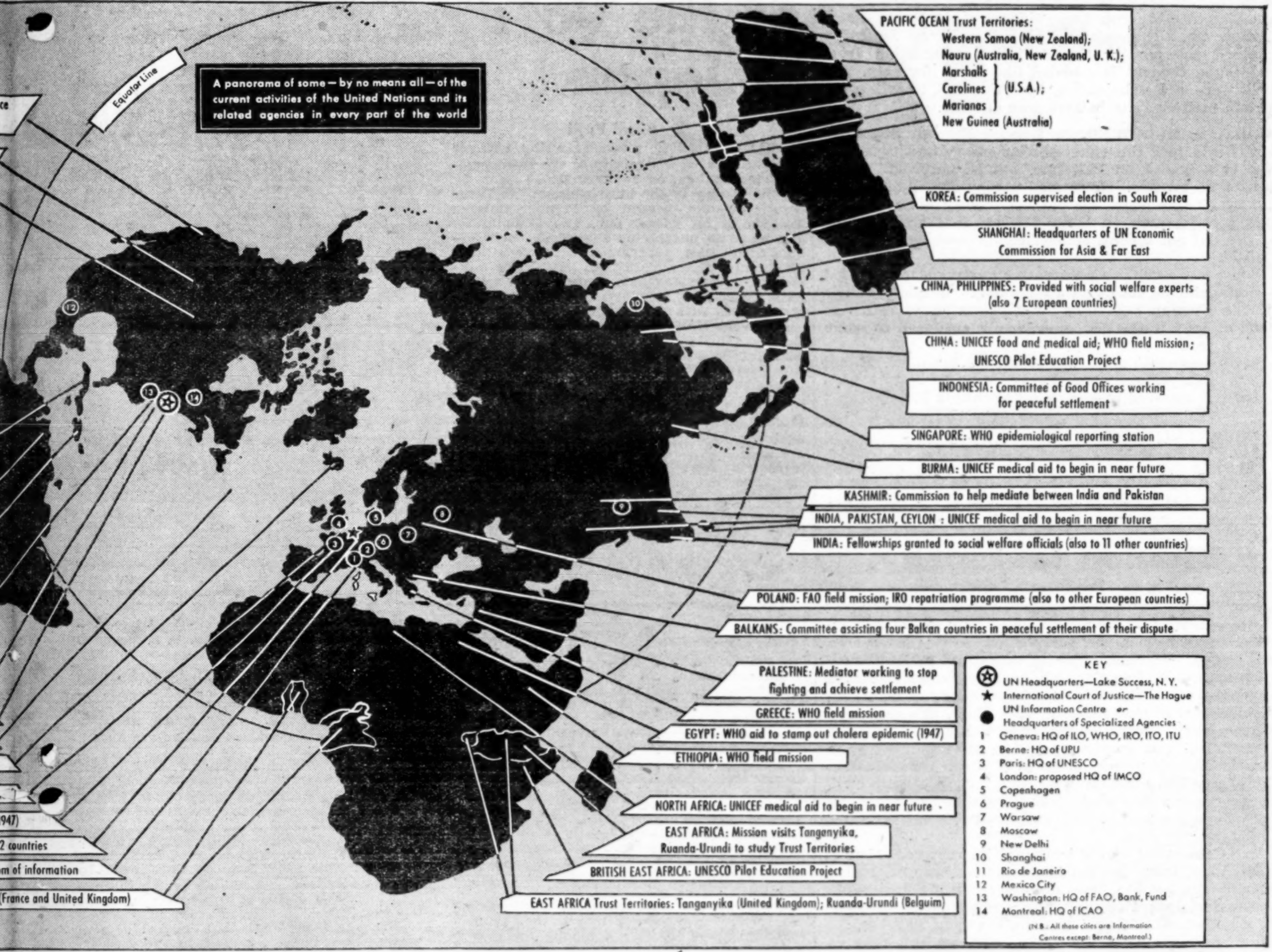
THE staff complaints are of a different nature. Working conditions put a strain on everybody. The ex-gyroscope



France Hebdo

"The Berlin discussion? In here, please..."

nd the people who work for it—and you


A panorama of some—by no means all—of the current activities of the United Nations and its related agencies in every part of the world
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947)
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(France and United Kingdom)
PACIFIC OCEAN Trust Territories:
Western Samoa (New Zealand);
Nauru (Australia, New Zealand, U. K.);
Marshalls
Carolines
Marianas
(U.S.A.);
New Guinea (Australia)
KOREA: Commission supervised election in South Korea
SHANGHAI: Headquarters of UN Economic Commission for Asia & Far East
CHINA, PHILIPPINES: Provided with social welfare experts (also 7 European countries)
CHINA: UNICEF food and medical aid; WHO field mission; UNESCO Pilot Education Project
INDONESIA: Committee of Good Offices working for peaceful settlement
SINGAPORE: WHO epidemiological reporting station
BURMA: UNICEF medical aid to begin in near future
KASHMIR: Commission to help mediate between India and Pakistan
INDIA, PAKISTAN, CEYLON : UNICEF medical aid to begin in near future
INDIA: Fellowships granted to social welfare officials (also to 11 other countries)
POLAND: FAO field mission; IRO repatriation programme (also to other European countries)
BALKANS: Committee assisting four Balkan countries in peaceful settlement of their dispute
PALESTINE: Mediator working to stop fighting and achieve settlement
GREECE: WHO field mission
EGYPT: WHO aid to stamp out cholera epidemic (1947)
ETHIOPIA: WHO field mission
NORTH AFRICA: UNICEF medical aid to begin in near future
EAST AFRICA: Mission visits Tanganyika, Ruanda-Urundi to study Trust Territories
BRITISH EAST AFRICA: UNESCO Pilot Education Project
EAST AFRICA Trust Territories: Tanganyika (United Kingdom); Ruanda-Urundi (Belguim)
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KEY
UN Headquarters—Lake Success, N. Y.
★ International Court of Justice—The Hague
● UN Information Centre or Headquarters of Specialized Agencies
1 Geneva: HQ of ILO, WHO, IRO, ITO, ITU
2 Berne: HQ of UPU
3 Paris: HQ of UNESCO
4 London: proposed HQ of IMCO
5 Copenhagen
6 Prague
7 Warsaw
8 Moscow
9 New Delhi
10 Shanghai
11 Rio de Janeiro
12 Mexico City
13 Washington: HQ of FAO, Bank, Fund
14 Montreal: HQ of ICAO
(N.B.: All these cities are Information Centres except: Berne, Montreal.)

factory has been paneled and partitioned in such a way that there are very few windows. Big neon tube lights in all offices were so irritating that the Secretariat and newsmen asked that yellow lights be installed instead. Lack of fresh air is another problem. Artificial ventilation, over-heating in winter and over-cooling in summer keep the seasons topsy-turvy. It is best to wear summer clothes in winter and winter clothes in summer.

Rep. Jacob K. Javits of New York, who thinks that UN people should be better housed, dubbed Lake Success the "salt mines," and the name stuck.

THE cafeteria food is another story. The cafeteria is a huge hall feeding thousands day and night. Many staff people work at night: translators, typists, printers of the documents section, who prepare documents for the following day's work.

Food is considered a very important psychological factor by non-Anglo-Saxon workers. Unfortunately, the Administration is permeated with an An[illegible]Saxon ideology in this respect. Without fear of diplomatic incident, it's safe to say that standard American and British fare is less appealing than European, Latin American or Far Eastern food.

Cooks at Lake Success are mostly Americans. There once was a French cook, but he couldn't do much all by himself. Dishes are well prepared, but if you eat there every day, the monotony makes you unhappy.

FOOD is less important than the feeling of insecurity about jobs. If all the workers were Americans, the feeling, though unpleasant, would be less tragic. But to a Siamese, a Czech or a Swede, the question of how long a job will last is vastly important.

The present setup has been nicknamed a state of "organized insecurity," mainly because of the contracts policy of the Administration. There are two types of contracts for UN workers: the "temporary indefinite" (one month's notice), and the so-called "permanent" (three months' notice). A psychiatrist has been retained to make people less unhappy, but the basic problem—a more human way to dismiss people—has not been solved.

UNITED NATIONS employees, in general, are fine individuals, with a high cultural standard, a solid understanding of international problems and a deep faith in the ideals of UN cooperation. They work hard, and although their work remains anonymous, they are satisfied when they know that they are contributing to progress.

There is little room for inflated egos or for people with racial prejudices among the staff. The thousands of foreigners are often homesick and often lonely. At the end of a very tense day, there is the long trip home and the trying and unfamiliar atmosphere of metropolitan New York to put up with.

Sometimes you may meet a charming, melancholy girl at dusk, waiting for her train at Great Neck. Like the anarchist daughter in Dos Passos' **U.S.A.**, she wants "liberty, equality, fraternity, and a young man to take her out."

Unscrambling the Alphabet

Following is a list of the U.N. agencies and what they do.

ILO—International Labor Organization. Brings together government, labor and management to solve industrial problems.

FAO—Food and Agriculture Organization. Seeks to increase production from farms, forests and fisheries and to improve distribution and levels of nutrition.

UNESCO—United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. Sponsors international projects in education, science, culture. 1949 program stresses reconstruction of war-damaged educational facilities.

ICAO—International Civil Aviation Organization. Assists international civil aviation by encouraging use of safety measures, uniform regulations.

IBRD—International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. Lends money on "good risk" basis for reconstruction of industry and development of economic facilities.

IMF—International Monetary Fund. Promotes international monetary cooperation and stabilization of currencies.

WHO—World Health Organization. Surveys world health conditions, sends experts to countries seeking aid.

UPU—Universal Postal Union. Unites members for reciprocal exchange of mail.

ITU—International Telecommunication Union. Promotes international cooperation in radio, telephone, telegraph.

IRO—International Refugee Organization. Arranges for repatriation and resettlement of refugees and displaced persons.

ITO—International Trade Organization. Designed to promote efforts to reduce tariffs and other trade barriers.

IMCO—Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization. Designed to promote international cooperation in maritime navigation.

UNICEF—United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund. Assists and makes it possible for governments to deal with their most pressing child-health and child-welfare problems.

WORLD ROUNDUP

Continued from wide column on page 6

Israelis met in peace talks, broke off and came together again. The touchy point of who was to get the Negev desert had come up. UN mediator Ralph Bunche on Thursday summoned the rest of the mediation commission from Israel. Some thought it sounded like a cry for help. The Israelis were said to be calling upon the U. S. to soften the Egyptian attitude. The balance was delicate.

BLOODY, SEMI-BOWED. In London Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin took the worst parliamentary beating of his career in a debate on Palestine, but he survived. Bevin asked for no quarter. He seemed uneasy and ill-tempered. His delivery was poor. He did not mollify his critics by granting recognition to Israel though that action came later. He did not repent, apologized for nothing, admitted no mistakes.

Winston Churchill, Conservative Party spokesman, led the spectacular flights of phrase-making. He said that His Majesty's Foreign Secretary "had preferred to retire in a cloud of inky water and vapor like a cuttlefish to some obscure retreat."

Bevin seemed to goad men to elegant invective. Konni Zilliacus, left wing Labor Party MP, in last week's GUARDIAN referred to him as a "pinchbeck Palmerston." During the debate Churchill called his official conduct "the quintessence of maladdress."

After Prime Minister Clement Attlee shut off debate, the vote was taken. It left Bevin in office but it was the closest the Labor Party had ever come to defeat: 283 to 193. Nearly 100 Labor members abstained. A few voted against the government.

Election in Japan

AT THE head of the Democratic-Liberal (extreme right wing) party which the Japanese voted into power last week was 75-year-old Shigeru Yoshida, an old-school diplomat of the Mikado's. His party stood for free enterprise, frozen wages, tighter labor restrictions and militant anti-communism. Gen. Douglas MacArthur, Supreme Allied Commander, called the vote "a mandate for the conservative philosophy of government." (See Fujii, this page.)

New York Times correspondent Lindesay Parrott wrote: "What the election means is that the power in Japan—insofar as power exists apart from General MacArthur—now has passed to the group that represents business, the conservative countryside and that section of the pre-war Japanese civil service that has not been eliminated for militarist leanings."

The Communist Party increased its representation in the Diet nine times; the Socialists came a cropper. In the planning stage last week was a united front of Communists, left-wing Socialists, Farmer-Laborites and People's Cooperative members. That would give the left wing 80 votes.

A new China

WHILE retiring Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek stayed close to the tomb of his ancestors in the little town of Fenghua, 45 Chinese statesmen gathered in Shihkiachwang, south of Peiping, to plan for a new China.

They came from many parties but all were to the left of the Kuomintang (government party). The Communist radio broadcast word that out of that conference would come the provisional government of China.

Communist troops moved leisurely up to the Yangtze River. In Pukow, across the river from Nanking, Chiang's soldiers were everywhere. They camped in the railroad stations. They tore up railroad ties for firewood. Shops were looted bare. Thousand-dollar bills lay in the gutter; Chiang's currency was worthless.

THE TEST. In the capital itself, the administration of Acting President Li Tsung-jen squirmed in evident anguish. Early in the week President Li tried to appease the Communists by announcing a "liberalization" program. But even in the last hours of the old regime, it proved too strong for Premier Sun Fo to swallow.

Political prisoners were to be released, according to Li.

Continued in wide column on next page

The meaning of the vote in Japan

By Shuji Fujii

JAPAN'S 30,000,000 voters gave the extreme rightists a clear majority in the third post-war election held on January 23.

The victory of the ultra-conservative Democratic-Liberals, headed by Premier Shigeru Yoshida, is an uneasy one. The Communists also made an unexpected advance in multiplying their Diet (Parliament) representation almost nine times. More than half of the middle-of-the-road Socialists, Democrats and People's Cooperative members, who had become synonymous with corruption, were unseated.

Thus the election result is a triple rebuff to General Douglas MacArthur's occupation headquarters. Boasting of their accomplishment in "democratizing" Japan and the artificially propped-up centrist course, they have been hell-bent against the Communists.

FERTILIZER. The Japanese Communists undoubtedly took full advantage of the current situation in China. However, it is mainly due to their carefully prepared and well organized campaign that political predictions were upset.

How they voted

Old and new party line-ups in the Japanese House of Representatives, supreme governing body under the new constitution, are as follows:

	Before	After	Votes (millions)
Democratic Liberals . . .	152	264	13.3
Communists . .	4	35	2.9
Socialists . . .	111	49	4.1
Democrats . . .	90	68	4.8
People's Cooperatives .	29	14	1.0
Minor parties . .	50	23	3.2
Independent . .	21	13	2.3

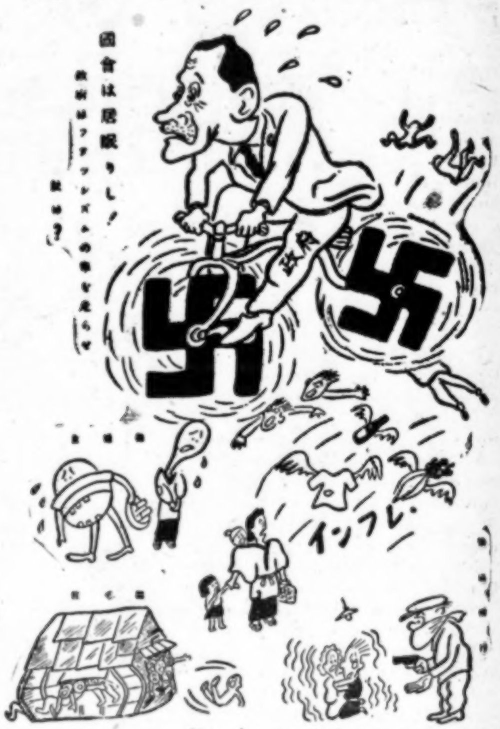
Last summer Premier Ashida (Democrat), Vice-Premier Nichio (Socialist), State Minister Kurusu (Democrat), and scores of other high government officials, Diet members and big businessmen became involved in the scandal of the 3 billion yen loan to a fertilizer manufacturer.

With dissolution on December 23, the Communists lost no time in putting up their strongest candidates, 116 in all. Among them were well-known labor leaders such as Kikunami (former chairman of the Japanese Congress of Industrial Unions) and Dobashi (chairman of the powerful Government Communication Workers). Thirteen locally prominent Socialist leaders deserted their party and ran on the Communist ticket.

WHAT'S NEEDED. Sanzo Nozaka, one of the Communist Party's Big Three, stated as the party's immediate aim "nationalization of financial institutions and key industries and their control by the people."

This, he said, is vital in order to carry out the nine-point economic recovery program ordered by the 11-power Far Eastern Commission, to abolish the special privileges and subsidies of the big Zaibatsu businesses which have run as high as 700 billion yen, and to balance the state budget.

The Communists emphasize trade with China, and are opposed to one-sided importation of foreign capital from the U. S. alone, as advocated by other parties.


国会は居眠りし！
政府
インフレ

Working Woman, Tokyo

A Japanese cartoon showing Ashida (the ousted Premier) "riding on the swastika bicycle" while the Diet sleeps and the people are plagued by inflation and food and housing shortages.

"TOO IDEALISTIC." The Yoshida government is paving the way for influx of U. S. capital investments. Caltex Oil, Northwestern Airlines, General Motors, Ford, Standard Oil, Reynolds Light Metal and Standard Electric are among U. S. firms negotiating for contracts. On Jan. 19 Maj. Gen. William F. Marquat, chief of the SCAP Economic and Scientific Section, told Japanese officials to draw up plans for revising corporate taxes, which are "too high from the viewpoint of inviting foreign capital".

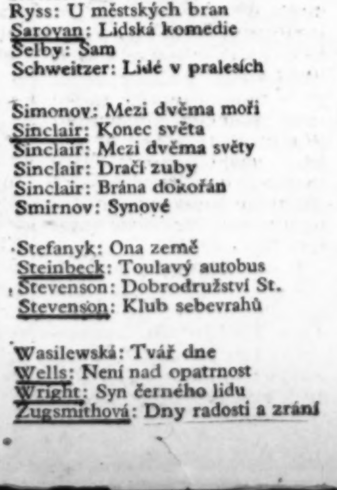
The Japanese Labor Ministry in the meantime is drafting a series of revisions to labor legislation. The Labor Standards Act is said to be "too idealistic" for enforcement "since it aims at raising Japanese working conditions to the world level."

Dilemma of the U.S. is that the Yoshida government is a direct antithesis of the declared U. S. policy of democratization. The more the U. S. relies on extreme rightists in Japan as a substitute for Chiang in China, the more unpopular it will become with the Japanese.

The longer the occupation troops remain, the heavier the drain on Japan's crumbling economy. This year's budget for occupation costs alone is 100 billion yen, or a quarter of the total state outlays. And this is one of the major deterrents to Japan's ultimate economic recovery.

SHUJI FUJII, born in California and educated in Japan, edited the pre-war West Coast Japanese-American weekly "Doho" and served with the U. S. Army during the war in the C. B. I. theatre.

They read a lot in the Czech 'infinity'


Russel: Vítr se zvedá
Ryss: U městských bran
Saroyan: Lidská komedie
Selby: Sam
Schweitzer: Lidé v pralesích

Simonov: Mezi dvěma moři
Sinclair: Konec světa
Sinclair: Mezi dvěma světy
Sinclair: Dračí zuby
Sinclair: Brána dokořán
Smirnov: Synové

Stefanyk: Ona země
Steinbeck: Toulavý autobus
Stevenson: Dobrodružství St.
Stevenson: Klub sebevrahů

Wasilewská: Tvář dne
Wells: Není nad opatrnost
Wright: Syn černého lidu
Zugsmithová: Dny radosti a zrání

PRAGUE

THE **New Yorker** magazine for Dec. 11 has just arrived here with an article that has caused some amusement among Czech writers and publishers.

The article refers to the horrors of book publishing in Czechoslovakia, where an author submits opinions by "responsible literary critics, scients or writers" with his manuscript, and these, rather than commercial marketing estimates, govern the decision as to whether it shall be published. Such a system, says the **New Yorker,** "leads to infinity and no books. Which is probably the goal of the Czech government."

Prague probably has more bookstores to the yard on its streets than any city in the world. All are crammed with books and customers.

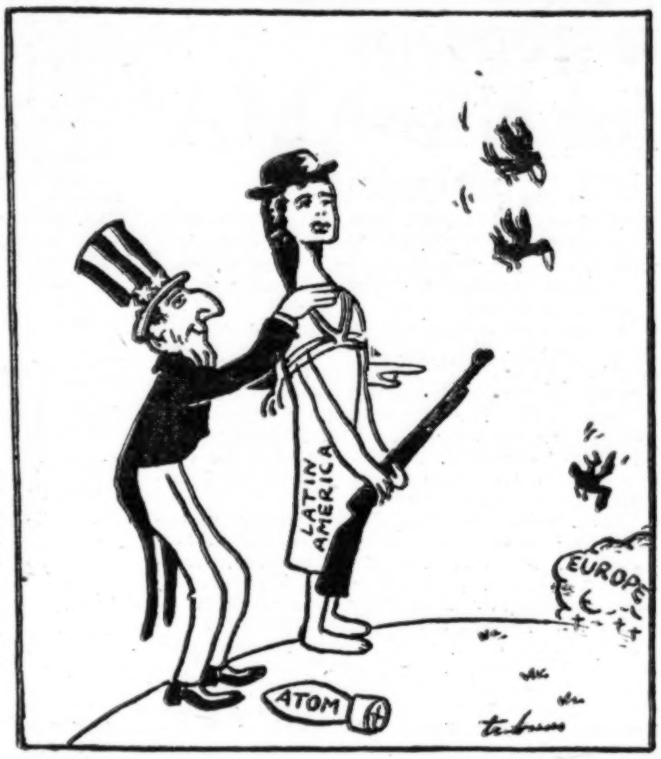
Here [see cut, left] is a tiny part of the current book list of one firm, Svoboda (Freedom) Publishers. In addition to Czech works it includes books by a wide assortment of foreign authors. Among other American and British authors listed are John Galsworthy, Thomas Hardy, Sinclair Lewis, Jack London, Herman Melville, Erskine Caldwell, John Dos Passos, Pearl Buck and Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Eleanor Wheeler

Venezuela today

Truman talks about democracy —then U.S. OK's its murderers

(Special Correspondence)



El Popular, Caracas

"What Uncle Sam wants from us."

"OUR efforts have brought new hope to all mankind. We have beaten back despair and defeatism. We are aided by all who desire self-government and a voice in deciding their own affairs."

Pres. Truman spoke thus in glowing tribute to American democracy on January 20. Next day the U.S. extended recognition to the Delgado Chalbaud regime in Venezuela, which seized power on November 24 by a military revolt against Pres. Romulo Gallegos.

Gallegos' overturned government was elected by the broadest popular elections in Venezuelan history and had the support of the people. Today in Venezuela all opposition papers are suppressed, the others are censored, and the leaders of Gallegos' Accion Democratica party who did not succeed in fleeing are in jail with about 1,000 trade unionists and political prisoners. An Accion Democratica deputy who fled to Cuba says they are being tortured.

WORDS vs. ACTIONS. That this is in total contravention of the "Bill of Rights" agreed on at the Bogota Conference is interesting but not remarkable. Not a single Latin American government that signed the Hemisphere Pact at Bogota is fully living up to it.

But the contradiction between Truman's words and actions is so startling, and the blow struck at all Latin Americans' hopes for democracy so stunning, that U.S. prestige has sunk to an all-time low throughout the hemisphere.

Even after the military coup in Venezuela, the people did not abandon hope. Protests rang out from all over the continent—from former Mexican President Cardenas, from Chilean Nobel Prize poetess Gabriela Mistral, from the national Assemblies of Panama, Colombia, Bolivia and Cuba, whose resolutions called on all American governments not to recognize the new Venezuelan regime.

Uruguay and Bolivia declared they would recognize no government imposed by force over one that was freely elected. Only the dictatorships of Peru, Paraguay and Argentina extended recognition.

SMELL OF OIL. Gallegos, the fugitive President, said in Cuba that he was overthrown by "Washington and the U.S. oil interests." He was officially received by Cuban President Prio Socarras and Cuba's Congress.

When Truman expressed general "concern" about the overthrow of democratic regimes, Venezuelans were heartened, thinking the U.S. would withold recognition. But soon afterward, Gallegos said in Cuba that he had a letter from Truman denying the complicity of the U.S. government and oil concerns. Following talks with U.S. diplomats in Havana, Gallegos declared himself "satisfied," and came to settle at Miami.

The hopes of the Venezuelan people dwindled and died. Two things they knew: Venezuelan Col. Vargas, a close associate of Delgado Chalbaud, was in the U.S. "taking a cure" at the time of the coup; and as a result of the coup, Gallegos' plan to deflect to Venezuela $80,000,000 of U.S. oil concerns' royalties was knocked on the head. The $80,000,000 would have gone into sorely needed educational and agricultural development.

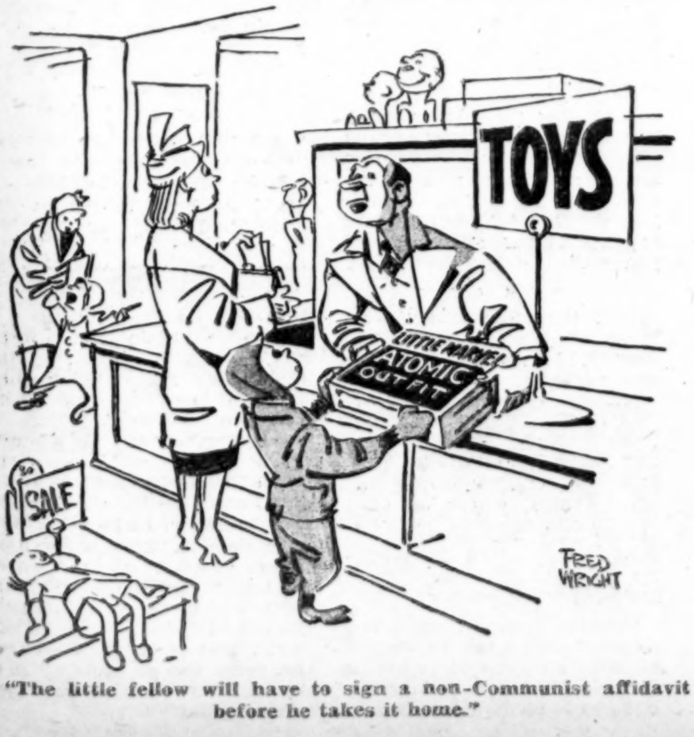
OUT ON A LIMB. More may be known about who was behind the coup when former Venezuelan Pres. Romulo Betancourt arrives in the U.S. from Jamaica. At the time of the coup, Betancourt (a Gallegos supporter) took refuge in the Colombian Embassy at Caracas. The Chilean government proposed to protest to the U.N. against his not being given a safe conduct out of the country. The Venezuelan military junta hurried to give Betancourt a safe conduct, but withdrew its ambassador from Chile.

Chile's "democratic" sincerity may be judged from the fact that it has some 1,000 political prisoners in its own concentration camps.

If genuine protests are made before U.N. about the murder of democracy in Venezuela—and they probably will be—they will not come from governments. Washington has given the lead and there is no government left in the western hemisphere ready and able to take an effective stand for democracy.

"For us to plunge ahead with recognition," commented the Washington **Post** on January 19, "would understandably make the holdouts (Latin American governments which protested) feel they had been left on a limb."

Pres. Truman has plunged ahead. "Democracy alone," as he told the world in his Inaugural Address, "can supply the vitalizing force to stir the peoples of the world into triumphant action."



"The little fellow will have to sign a non-Communist affidavit before he takes it home."

WORLD ROUNDUP

Continued from wide column on preceding page.

The Premier amended the program to allow the release of only those not yet sentenced. Then he left Nanking for an undisclosed destination. The Communists called on President Li to prove his sincerity by turning Chiang over to them. Chiang headed a list of war criminals drawn up by the Communists. That list, they said pointedly last week, might be extended.

Radio broadcasts from the Communist high command said they did not recognize the government of Pres. Li, but would confer with it because it still held "some remnants of military power." It was reported without confirmation at the week-end that Li had decided to accept the eight-point peace terms of the Communists.

CULTIVATED THORNS. Those remnants of Chiang's troops that were not encamped in Puchow or Nanking were en route southward in box cars. They stirred rumors that the Generalissimo might take the field again with sympathetic warlords who some weeks ago fled southward. (Ilona Ralf Sues writing in GUARDIAN, Jan. 10, warned that the Generals Pai Ching-hsi, Ma Hung-kuei and Ma Pu-fang might form an anti-Communist nucleus to bolster or replace the fading Chiang.)

If the warlords held together the U.S. State Department might use them as a thorn with which to prick the new China. That would provide an excuse for withholding recognition of the new regime, and for barring its representatives from the UN Securitv Council where they would wield the veto.

Indonesia

THE conference of 19 nations at New Delhi on Indonesia adjourned last week. It was hard to estimate its full significance. Some thought they saw the groundwork for a permanent bloc which, within limits, could act independently and importantly in the UN.

The conference resolution on Indonesia, calling for removal of Dutch troops, was neither so strong as might be expected from colonial or ex-colonial nations; nor so weak as the one passed by the Security Council at Lake Success. In hedged and guarded terms, it called for eventual freedom.

Into the press room at Lake Success last Thursday walked Sayed A. Almanassa, who said he represented the Indonesian Federalists, a faction well disposed to Dutch rule. He quoted a message from his superior, Tengku Mansur, an Indonesian of royal blood: "This is a matter concerning only Indonesia and the Netherlands. The interference of the Security Council . . . is only confusing and annoying."

GUARDIAN's UN correspondent, Marcelle Hitschman, learned later that Almanassa was employed by the Netherlands Information Office in New York.

Election in France

IN 1947 the people of Grenoble, a city of 90,000 in southeastern France, gave the Communists 30% of the vote and 13 out of 37 seats in the town council. The followers of Gen. Charles de Gaulle also had 13 seats and were within a few hundred votes of the Communists.

Last week, after a year of the Marshall Plan, the cold war and the rise of the Gaullists, who only a few weeks ago rioted in the streets of Grenoble, the town's population turned to the polls again.

All France watched for a straw in the wind: in March cantonal elections were due. The voting was heavy. These were the results: the Communist vote rose from 10,523 to 14,358, or 40%, their representation to 15 seats. The Gaullists dropped from 10,419 to 10,067. Other municipal elections have shown similar results.

AFTERMATH. In the towns of the north the memory of the shattered miners' strike of a month ago hung over the pits. Children who had been sent away to the south to be sheltered and fed during the strike were just returning. At Lens each dawn 246 women still gathered at the prison to ask for permits to see their husbands, arrested during the strike for "hindering other workers' right to work." Only 200 permits were issued each day. The rest would have to try again the next day.

A GUARDIAN correspondent wrote of how strikers had been seized in their homes. "The children screamed 'Boches' (Germans) when the guards burst in the house."

When the correspondent left Lens the prisoners' wives, who cannot find work in order to feed their children, were off to another demonstration. "They did not look discouraged," she wrote.

DOLLAR STRETCHER

Patterns for self-help clothes

MUCH of the children's clothing in the stores is notoriously poorly designed and over-elaborate, making it hard for a child to dress himself. To help parents solve the almost universal headache of getting practical children's garments at reasonable prices, U. S. Agriculture Dept. clothing specialists have designed several patterns, now offered by the Advance Pattern Co.

One of these (Pattern No. 5022) is for a "self-help" overall with a sunsuit included. The overall has adjustable straps which reach down to the waist instead of only to the yoke, so the child can get in and out of them without help. A pattern for a little girl's schooldress (No. 4673) buttons down the front and is unbelted. No. 4672, for a child's dress, has a small yoke which buttons to a peter pan collar.

Advance patterns, 25 cents each, are sold by J. C. Penney, W. T. Grant and H. L. Green stores, most fabric shops, and some department stores.

Bargains in records

FRIGHTENED by the advent of long-playing records, dealers throughout the country are unloading their 78-rpm shellac records. In some cities, shellacs ordinarily tagged 79 cents are going for as little as four for $1. Some stores are closing out albums at 50% off.

The shellacs at these cut prices are a good buy if you plan to stick to your present conventional record player for now. And, as GUARDIAN pointed out recently, it isn't wise to invest in one of the new LP machines at this time. Two different types (one which revolves 33⅓ rpm, the other 45) are now on the market, and no one knows yet which is going to be standard. Because of the confusion, several dealers are cutting the Columbia LP player, which lists at $29.95, to $19.95—and giving a couple of LP records free with it.

Suit sales winding up

THE current cut-price sales of men's suits will hold at least till the end of March. Clothing manufacturers estimate it will take that long to dispose of stocks that piled up when men stopped buying. After that, a leading manufacturer said last week, the industry will make no more suits than it can move without cutting prices. Particularly low-priced now are tweeds, coverts, wool cheviots and medium-grade flannels.

But if you buy in a sale, beware of shoddy manufacture. Some makers have bought up distress fabrics of good-enough quality but have made them up into suits with the cheapest tailoring. Beware ads offering worsted suits at low prices—$30 and less. In some sales observed by the **Dollar Stretcher,** the tailoring is so poor the suits are not even worth their bargain prices despite the quality of the fabrics.

Some alert unions have been able to capitalize on the anxiety of manufacturers to clear out their men's clothes. In one case, the Machinists' Lodge in East Hartford, Conn., arranged with a manufacturer to take over his overstock. The union staged a sale for its members in a church recreation hall. At prices of $21 to $29 for suits that had been tagged up to $60, the machinists quickly cleaned out the stock.

Consumer action wins milk cut

CONSUMER groups and trade unions in other towns can take a tip from the victory of the New York City Consumer Council in forcing a reduction in chain-store prices of milk. A year-long campaign by the council won support from the City Investigation Commission, which officially publicized the fact that the large chains were getting special rebate of one cent a quart from milk companies, but were not passing on this saving to the public.

The council put pressure on both chains and milk companies: a postcard barrage to the dairies; special appeals to the president of the A & P stores; parades of women with placards in front of the chain stores. The A & P yielded, cut the price a cent; 85% of the other chains and independents followed suit.

Last year a campaign by the St. Louis Consumer Federation brought a grand-jury investigation of charges of milk price-fixing by local dairies there; a price cut followed.

Commentator Sponsors Commentator

William S. Gailmor, one of the last of the progressive radio commentators, has a new ally in his fight to stay on the air: Johannes Steel, himself a former radio hard-hitter on whom the sponsors ganged up.

Steel's monthly newsletter, **Johannes Steel Reports,** is sponsoring Gailmor Sunday afternoons beginning Jan. 30 at 4 over station WLIB (1190 on your dial). Gailmor also has his own program over WLIB at 2 p.m. Sundays.

LIVING & LEISURE

Looks like ulcers for the AMA

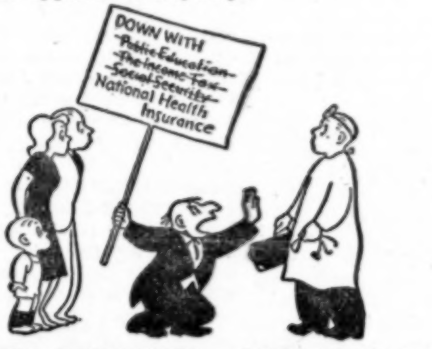
By Willard Hoff

THE American Medical Assn. is trying to raise $3,000,000 to "educate" the public against national health insurance, by taxing each of its member-doctors $25. The campaign is already back-firing.

Because funds cannot be collected directly from members, but must be raised through the county and district medical societies, a wide-spread revolt against the tax has developed on a local level. The Kings County (Brooklyn) Medical Society voted 148 to 131 against paying the tax. (Officers of the Society said the vote was not "truly representative" and that another poll would be made.)

Last week the New York County (Manhattan) Society voted in favor of the assessment, but only after one of the bitterest meetings in the history of the group. The meeting drew an unprecedented attendance of 1,000.

In Washington, D.C., where opposition was expected, Dr. George Lull, national AMA secretary, was sent to sell the group on the special assessment. He made a long speech, charging that national health insurance would "enslave" doctors. Many floor speakers, indignant over the autocratic methods of the national organization, wanted to know "what the AMA was opposed to anyway."


DOWN WITH
~~Public Education~~
~~The Income Tax~~
~~Social Security~~
National Health Insurance

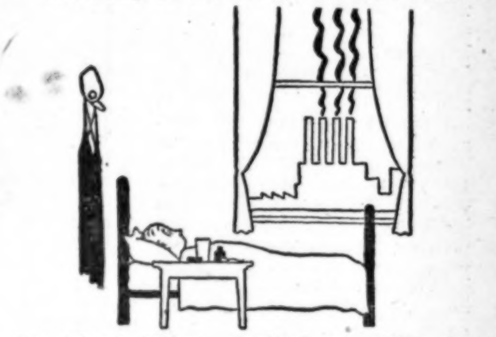
PINK PILL MERCHANTS. AMA's Washington front, the National Physicians' Committee for the Extension of Medical Service (NPC), is at present under investigation by the Attorney General.

In the 21 months ending Sept. 30, about $200,000 was contributed by big drug companies in amounts over $500 to the NPC's campaign against national health insurance. NPC had to register as a lobby. It is in fact the third largest lobby in the country.

Now being investigated is the question whether the law requires AMA itself to register as a lobby. That is one of AMA's current headaches; another is a threatened anti-trust suit to be brought by its own members.

THEY DON'T KNOW. The only organized opposition inside the AMA is the Physicians' Forum, a national organization of doctors who not only support health insurance but have long tried to expose the undemocratic character of AMA leadership.

According to Dr. Ernest P. Boas, head of Physicians' Forum, doctors' opposition to a national health program has been largely due to ignorance of the Murray-Wagner-Dingell bill. The bill would permit doctors to participate in the program or stay out of it; to continue their private practices as before. Furthermore it would guarantee them payment for the 20% of free cases they handle at present.



Under a plan putting medical care on a year-round basis, instead of only in time of sickness, the average doctor's income would rise substantially, Dr. Boas points out.

THE BANDWAGON. Pressure for passage of the bill may become so great that the AMA will have to jump on the bandwagon or be cut out of a share in the huge pork-barrel.

Many doctors are worried about the AMA running the health insurance program if that happens. In the past the AMA, after fighting workmen's compensation and limited voluntary health plans (like Blue Cross in the '30's), has stepped in to run them after the fight failed.

The AMA has tough sledding ahead to squelch the revolt in its ranks and to maintain domination over all medical services in the country.

Drawings by Crockett Johnson in "For the People's Health," Physicians Forum pamphlet.

THE COTTON PATCH

JOE (FLATHEAD) FLEMING has been down with ulcers of the stomach for over three years and gettin $30 per month "Disability" for the last nine months from the welfare office, to take care of his famly of eight and buy Medicine for himself.

Joe and his wife decided theyd go out and pick a little Cotton as the kids needed a few clothes. Weak as Joe was, he was able to make as much as $3 most days by layin down a while and gettin up to pick a while. With what his wife picked they were able to fill quite a few gaps.

Well, sir! Somebody went up and told the welfare bunch about it, and one of the welfare Gals came flyin down here to have it out with Joe and others. She came out with her feathers all ruffelled up like a settin hen gettin off the nest for water.

•

"JOE!" says she. "I am goin to cut you off of welfare benifit—cause if you are able to pick Cotton youre able to take care of your self and famly."

"I was only tryin to hep us out, Lady," says Joe. "What I get from your office aint half enough to keep any kind of decent livin in our house."

Says she: "We know what it takes for subsistence of this famly of eight, and we know $30 a month is plenty. We dont allow no one to accumilate a pile of Money at the expense of our office. So off you go."

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JUST then Sis Cowley, wife of Aaron (Chuckwally) Cowley, jumps to her feet and explodes.

"When you say $30 is enough for a man and a wife and six kids to live on, ASK SIS," she yells. "I jes heard the radio man say last nite this country should be shamed of itself for makin our President of the United States suffer and struggle along on a little ole $75,000 a year.

"There's sompin cockeyed somers," continues Sis, "when $75,000 aint enough for a famly of three in one place but $30 is plenty for a famly of eight in another. Seems like you tryin to force a man to starve and die so he wont need no hep at all."

"But Joe aint a big shot," observes Lippy Jones. "If he was jes rollin in money he'd get the radio and papers yelpin at Congress to give him some more to roll in."

"Like ole man Hoover," says Rough House Wilson.

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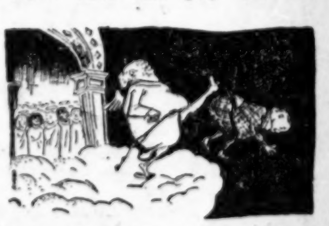
"AS TO Hoover," says I, "maybe his ole conscience is worryin him — fraid he goin to die pretty soon and not pay off for makin us poor folks eat Hoover Hogs (cottontail rabbits) the whole year round.



"I hope St. Peter know him when he get to heaven's gate, and turn him round and kick him where we want to kick him, and he lands where we want him to land. Cause if heaven accept him, then heaven aint no better than Washington."

The Mail Bag

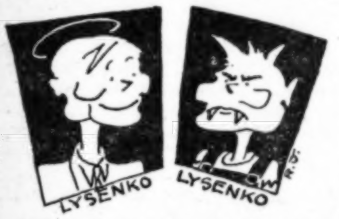
THIS week we are devoting our entire letter column to communications we have received about Robert Joyce's article (Jan. 10) on Trofim Lysenko, the Soviet geneticist whose theories have aroused such a scientific and political storm. The letters we have received, we think, are on a much higher level than most of the material printed in American periodicals interested in little more than smearing Lysenko because he is Russian and, therefore, evil. We print the letters gladly, along with a bit of editor's comment and an excerpt of an article by George Bernard Shaw, which first appeared in the "Labour Monthly" of London.

Where was Lysenko?

BERKELEY, CAL.

"The Lysenko Affair" by Robert Joyce (Jan. 10) ends with a call for "serious discussion." I am more than happy to oblige by presenting some facts and viewpoints not brought out in Joyce's article.

With regard to the scientific merit of Lysenko's work, an International Genetics Congress was held at Stockholm in July 1948, where the geneticists of 55 countries were foregathered to compare results and exchange ideas. Neither Lysenko nor any of his co-workers came. This seems rather unusual in view of Joyce's assertion that they have results that "shake the world of science."



If Lysenko had attended the congress he would have had the opportunity to learn that most of his experimental results and practical accomplishments are fully capable of explanation in terms of Mendelian genetics, and constitute no evidence at all for the inheritance of acquired characters. As regards certain other experiments reported by Lysenko, such as the production of new types of tomatoes as a result of grafting one variety on to another, etc., there would have been some interesting questions from the audience, mingled with much skepticism, because other workers using the same techniques and similar materials have been unable to repeat these results.

Western geneticists do not regard Lysenko's belief in the inheritance of acquired characters with "indignation," contrary to Joyce. Western geneticists simply refuse to discard the whole existing body of concepts about the gene and its transmission from parents to offspring, built up over decades from the evidence gained by many workers, merely because Lysenko now comes forward with some experiments which he has misinterpreted and some other experiments which nobody can repeat.

It is unnecessary to discuss the theoretical side of the controversy between the Lysenko and Mendelian schools of genetics here, since that is not the real issue. The issue is the attack on the freedom of scientific inquiry in a country which calls itself scientific.

Verne Grant

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Clarification wanted

BALTIMORE, MD.

I believe American geneticists are not disturbed so much by the possibility of the inheritance of acquired characteristics as by the apparent political domination of the Soviet research in this field. I myself would appreciate a bit of clarification on this point, for I have heard much of Lysenko's unfortunate tactics, politically, and nothing to justify them.

Thorne Shipley
Johns Hopkins Univ.

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Lysenko's foes

The current Soviet Genetics Controversy has given rise to a number of false assertions concerning the scientists opposing Lysenko. Without regard to the issues involved, the following facts need to be stated:

1. N. I. Vavilov and his family were not exterminated after his controversy with Lysenko in 1940, as has been claimed. He died several years later, in 1943, and his brother, S. Vavilov, is now president of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R.

2. The classical geneticists, Shmalhausen, Zhebrak, Dubinin and others still head important institutes.

3. Academician Orbeli remains director of the Pavlov Institute of Physiology, Academician Zavadovski remains director of the Timiryazev Academy of Agriculture and Professors Nemchinov and Zhukovsky retain their chairs at the same institute.

These scientists opposed Lysenko. These facts and others will be found in two articles, by Professors Marcel Prenant and Jeanne Lévy, in the forthcoming issue of **Science & Society.**

Samuel Bernstein
Editor, Science & Society

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Was it slanted?

BRUNSWICK, ME.

I cannot help but feel that so great a cause [as the GUARDIAN] is more injured than served in the eyes of intelligent, clear-thinking readers by the use of counter propaganda such as in the article on Lysenko. Not, please note, on the grounds that Lysenko necessarily is, as has been said, a charlatan or an unscrupulous tool of the Soviet government. That is an issue to be settled by geneticists. It is the tone of the article to which I object, which seems to me unfortunate in its use of weighted words and emotional adjectives, tending to give a bias to the issues under discussion not necessarily in keeping with the facts.

I also felt that it was not made sufficiently clear in the article whether its author was implying an endorsement of the view that theoretical scientific knowledge should be the servant of a political doctrine, or if he simply meant to suggest that scientific technology is and should be concerned with the problems of man. One cannot help but suspect that there is an intended "slant" here on the part of the author. So much of this type of "slanting" of the news is done by the reactionary elements we all object to that it seems to me the GUARDIAN has got to bend over backwards to avoid this sort of thing.

Mary M. Leue

Asked to comment on Miss Leue's letter, Robert Joyce said: "It is unfortunate that a 'slant' was suspected in the article. It was not my intention to discuss personalities or the relationship between science and politics, but rather to present an exposition of Lysenko's theories on the basis of Lysenko's own writings. I had hoped thereby to bring the controversy back into the scientific field, and out of the name-calling arena where it has been put by most of the American press."

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They liked it

LIMA, OHIO

The Robert Joyce article "The Lysenko Affair" in the Jan. 10 GUARDIAN is the best I have seen. If there be no objection, we will use it in our February issue of **Farming In Russia**, an agricultural monthly news service that goes to the entire agricultural press, to the principal radio farm programs and to subscribers in the U. S., Canada, and several foreign countries. The United Nations, the U. S. Dept. of Agriculture and other governmental departments of states and provinces are subscribers.

Elmer McClain
Editor, Farming In Russi

Shaw unmuddles the muddle

GEORGE BERNARD SHAW, in the current issue of the **Labour Monthly**, plunges blithely into the middle of what he calls "The Lysenko Muddle" and comes up with the declaration that "Lysenko is on the right side." But Lysenko, he says, is a Vitalist; he has to pretend to be a Materialist to be respected in the U.S.S.R.

Shaw's contribution to the international controversy crackles with argument-provoking declarations like: "Darwin, a Unitarian, was not a Darwinist"; and "Marx had to insist that he was not a Marxist."

The sage of Britain argues that "the detestable Hegelian jargon" is to blame for much of the confusion arising from "the purely verbal snag that Marx called his philosophy Dialectical Materialism" — a misnomer, according to Shaw.

But the Old Man gets down to short, plain and simple words with which to lambast a countryman eminent in the field of biology:

"SIR HENRY DALE'S resignation of his membership of the Soviet Academy of Science on the Lysenko issue is entirely conscientious and honorable in intention. But the real issue is between the claim of the scientific professions to be exempted from all legal restraint in the pursuit of knowledge, and the duty of the State to control it in the general interest as it controls all other pursuits.

"To my old question, 'May you boil your mother to ascertain at what temperature a mature woman will die?' the police have a decisive counter in the gallows. To Lysenko's question, 'Can the State tolerate a doctrine that makes every citizen the irresponsible agent of inevitable Natural Selection?' the reply is a short No.

"The Yes implied by Sir Henry Dale's resignation is a hangover from the faith of Adam Smith, who believed that God interferes continually in human affairs, overruling them to a divine purpose, no matter how selfishly they are conducted by their human agents. Experience has not borne this faith out. Laissez-faire is dead. Sir Henry should think this out.

"My long political experience has taught me that what we are hardest up against is not general ignorance of Communism and all the rival paper Isms, but of the status quo, our notions of which are so fantastically Utopian that we daily reproach Russians and foreigners in general for practices and institutions and codes that are in full blast here, and in fact mostly originated in Merry England."

Report to readers

Thousands more join us in Midwest

BEGINNING with our Feb. 7 issue, the NATIONAL GUARDIAN will add to its readership the subscribers of the **Illinois Standard**, the scrappy newsweekly which went into publication in mid-1948, succeeding the **Chicago Star.**

In an editorial announcement in its Jan. 29 issue, the **Standard** describes the change-over as "a forward step toward unification of the progressive press into a single, hard-hitting 'package.'"

THE ILLINOIS
STANDARD

For the GUARDIAN, the addition of many thousands of new Chicago readers provides an opportunity to put into the works — as soon as we are physically set up for it — a series of regional editions. Such a series will involve "re-plating" certain pages so that subscribers in different regions will receive news of special interest to their areas.

NO NEWSWEEKLY does this at present, although it is not a new idea. Some years ago such a project was undertaken by the **People's Press.** Trade unions throughout the country seized on it enthusiastically, especially unions newly organized into the CIO. The **People's Press** won more than 200,000 readers but eventually converted itself into individual trade union papers which today are reaching several million trade unionists.

We at the GUARDIAN like to sit down over a beer and speculate on the possibility of a nationwide network of independent progressive regional weeklies. Perhaps they'd pool their newsgathering efforts in a national progressive news and feature service to give AP and UP some healthy, grass-roots competition.

HOWEVER, the record of the last several decades shows a decline, rather than an increase, in the number of local and regional publications. So, until such a trend can be reversed, a basic national publication with regional editions or sections seems to be the alternative most likely to succeed.

It is with this ultimate goal in mind that we have been asking readers to send us news and comment from their communities. Already a generous response is coming in and the results will be seen in the GUARDIAN starting next week. Until we can arrive at a satisfactory set-up for regional editions, local news will have to be edited with a view to nationwide as well as community interest, hence it must be greatly condensed to keep it from crowding out other news.

THE addition of thousands of Chicago readers will be welcome in more ways than one. Naturally, the more readers, the merrier. But new readers from the great mid-section of the country (the area that kayo'd Dewey, according to the lament of Republican hindsighters in last week's papers) are especially important in accumulating a balanced readership for a national progressive publication.

At the present time, the GUARDIAN's readership is about one-third in New York, the rest in the other 47 states, Canada, etc. The new Chicago-Midwest readers will change this ratio to something more like 75% outside New York State. All the experts will tell you that this is an extremely healthy situation for a progressive publication: it means that our baby is gaining weight in unusually healthy proportions and will undoubtedly grow up to be an All-American fullback.

John T. McManus

A Faith to Free the People

By Cedric Belfrage

IX. The People's Institute

Can two walk together, except they be agreed?—AMOS

REV. Claude Williams moved northward from Arkansas with his revolutionary interpretation of Christianity based on the earthly needs of the exploited and down-trodden Negro, white, Mexican and Indian. In Memphis in his home state of Tennessee, his fight for race equality brought press, police and even FBI down on him. But everywhere he went he found disciples, who joined with him in spreading the message of the People's Institute of Applied Religion.

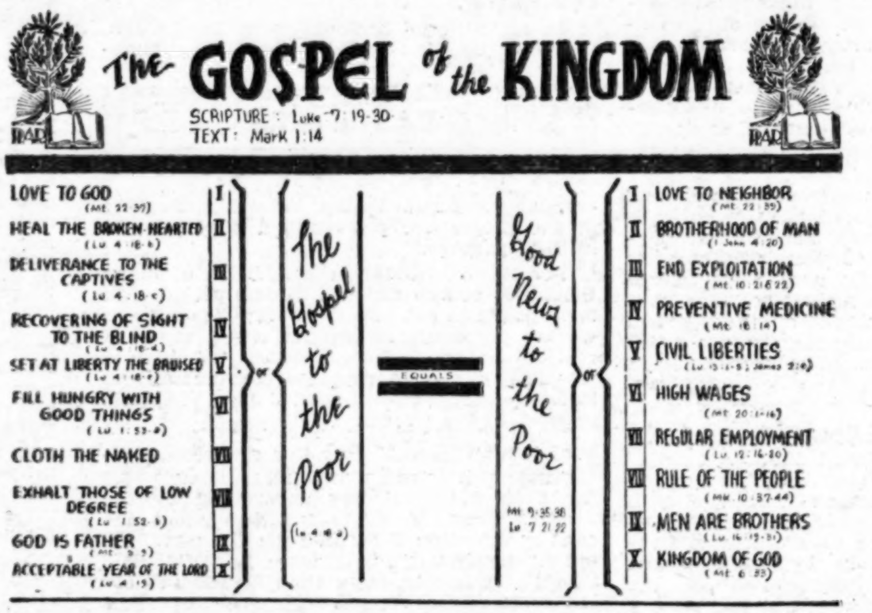
THE flowering of Claude Williams' ideas, developed among the people in the heat of their day-to-day struggle for a Kingdom, was the People's Institute of Applied Religion: an instrument designed to contribute, through the Bible's prophetic message, to the binding together of the people in their own democratic organizations.

Logically and naturally, the People's Institute was linked from the outset with the CIO's program, soon after the "big union" moved into the South. The CIO came first to Birmingham, Alabama, then to New Orleans, then to Memphis. It came to Memphis in open defiance of Ed Crump, the local political boss, under whose benevolent dictatorship the capital city of King Cotton had maintained the lowest wage scale of any comparable city.

The CIO's arrival set off a campaign of ruthless intimidation. Organizers were beaten up, workers threatened and spied upon. The bodies of men who joined the union were found in the Mississippi River; others disappeared and were never found. Against the Negroes the terror was particularly concentrated, for the foundation stone of Crump prosperity was the white-supremacy doctrine which kept the workers divided. Negroes were arrested by the score for "loitering," stopped and searched on the streets. Provocations on the Jim-Crow street cars and buses became so common that Negroes were choosing to walk miles to and from their work. The powers of Memphis were clearly interested in stirring up race conflicts as a justification of the doctrine that enriched them.

AMONG all the leaders of the organization drive it was Claude who attracted the special interest of the authorities. A white Tennessee-born minister of the Church who without fear or compromise championed equality of the races was a phenomenon they had not imagined possible, and for which they knew of no explanation in terms of their world. Soon the atmosphere around him became so threatening that Claude and Joyce were driven to a bitter decision: the family could not remain together in Memphis. Apart from the consideration of safety, the financial position was almost as precarious as in the darkest Paris days; and while Claude's health and strength had been restored, seemingly by the very demands of the struggle into which he had flung himself, Joyce had been so pulled down by the years of insecurity that she was on the verge of a breakdown. The children were sent to an Episcopal home in Cincinnati, and by the generosity of the same benefactress who made that possible, Joyce went to North Carolina to rest up in a sanitarium. Claude made his home and Institute headquarters in two rooms over the Memphis CIO hall.

BY the time the Memphis authorities decided to crack down on the "subversive activities" centering around the CIO, a nucleus of white and colored preachers had been built up by the Institute. The Applied Religion message had been worked out in detail, and visual-aid charts had been prepared for use by preachers, illustrating in simple positive manner the application of Bible texts to present problems. Claude had prepared outlines of many sermons to be preached with the charts, all directed toward the goal of organizing the people. His visits to the North were beginning to bear fruit in the shape of small and sporadic remittances of funds from sponsoring groups in New York, Chicago, Buffalo, Bridgeport, Cleveland, Newark, Boston and Detroit.


The GOSPEL of the KINGDOM
SCRIPTURE: Luke 7:19-30
TEXT: Mark 1:14
IPAR
IPAR
LOVE TO GOD (Mt. 22:37)
I
HEAL THE BROKEN HEARTED (Lu 4:18-b)
II
DELIVERANCE TO THE CAPTIVES (Lu 4:18-c)
III
RECOVERING OF SIGHT TO THE BLIND (Lu 4:18-d)
IV
SET AT LIBERTY THE BRUISED (Lu 4:18-e)
V
FILL HUNGRY WITH GOOD THINGS (Lu 1:53-a)
VI
CLOTH THE NAKED
VII
EXHALT THOSE OF LOW DEGREE (Lu 1:52-b)
VIII
GOD IS FATHER (Mt. 5:9)
IX
ACCEPTABLE YEAR OF THE LORD (Lu 4:19)
X
or
The Gospel to the Poor
(Lu 4:18-a)
EQUALS
Good News to the Poor
Mt 9:35-38
Lu 7:21-22
or
I LOVE TO NEIGHBOR (Mt. 22:39)
II BROTHERHOOD OF MAN (1 John 4:20)
III END EXPLOITATION (Mt. 10:21&22)
IV PREVENTIVE MEDICINE (Mt. 18:14)
V CIVIL LIBERTIES (Lu 13:1-5; James 2:4)
VI HIGH WAGES (Mt. 20:1-16)
VII REGULAR EMPLOYMENT (Lu 12:16-20)
VIII RULE OF THE PEOPLE (Mk. 10:37-44)
IX MEN ARE BROTHERS (Lu 16:19-31)
X KINGDOM OF GOD (Mt. 6:33)

Note by Rev. Claude Williams on the use of this People's Institute chart: The Gospel to the poor is GOOD NEWS to the poor. The fact that it is to the poor indicates the content of the Gospel: to feed the hungry, heal the sick, clothe the naked, administer to the needy. When John sent his disciples to ask Jesus the question, "Art thou he that should come, or look we for another?" Jesus said, "Go your way and tell John what things ye have seen and heard; how that the blind see, the lame walk, the lepers cleansed, the deaf hear, the dead are raised, to the poor the Gospel is preached." Notice it does not read, "AND to the poor the Gospel is preached." The GOOD NEWS was the things that were happening to the people.

With the charts and outlines as their ammunition, William Deberry was preaching union in Tennessee, Laurence Lay in Oklahoma, Don West in Georgia, Leon Turner in Arkansas, Daniel Williams and W. L. Blackstone in southern Missouri. Harry Koger and Owen Whitfield, two of the leading organizers for the UCAPAWA, were regularly using the Institute's religious techniques.

The first chance he had to get away for a few days, Claude visited his family who were now together in Cincinnati. There he made a new friend in Joseph G. Moore, pastor of an Episcopalian church at Evansville, Indiana, who told him of the need for a people's program in that city and urged him to come.

For months past, pleas for the work to be moved into a wider field—to meet the demand for leadership in the darkening pattern of national and world events—had been reaching Claude from the Institute groups in the North, particularly from Detroit. The preacher's talks with Moore seemed to offer an answer. He was impressed by the strategic advantages of Evansville, standing at the apex of the pyramid in which he was already working and within accessible distance of the midwestern industrial centers. The enthusiasm of Moore and the eagerness of the family to be reunited hastened the decision. Before he left Cincinatti, plans for the establishment of Institute headquarters at Evansville were already under way.

HE returned to Memphis on the eve of the most ambitious cotton preachers' institute he had yet undertaken—to be held in Memphis itself. Since no church would allow whites and Negroes to assemble together, the meetings took place in the CIO hall. Five hundred men and women of both races, many coming from far distant plantations, assembled there on the first day to hear the message. The **Commercial Appeal** sent a reporter and photographer and published a distorted account, accompanied by pictures of Claude surrounded by Negroes, which was ominous in its implications. An editorial, under the heading "NEEDS WATCHING," drew respectable citizens' attention to the obvious rascality of a religious meeting in the CIO hall.

In the following week the Memphis police descended on the CIO hall and took Harry Koger away for questioning; and within a few hours, Claude too found himself in the jail facing the guardians of law and order.

The questioning of the preacher continued all day without a break. The detectives were determined to force from him an admission of the sinister alien connections which alone, they seemed to believe, could explain his activities. Bundles of papers and notes brought from his room were solemnly examined, and he was questioned on each one.

WITHOUT compromising at any point, Claude had a clear and frank answer to every question of the detectives and could not be trapped, no matter how many times McGee, Chief of Detectives, returned to the attack from different directions. He had worked so long in the people's movements that he knew exactly what was in the enemy's mind and what he was trying to do. By a late hour that night McGee had still made no progress. The preacher, forbidden to communicate with anyone outside, was given a cot to sleep on.

Next day the questioning was resumed. McGee still found himself running up blind alleys and getting nowhere. He decided in the afternoon to take Claude back to the Institute headquarters to explain the Applied Religion charts hanging on the walls. Two other Memphis police officials and an FBI man accompanied them.

IT was the first chance Claude ever had to lecture to an audience of policemen on the evils of the sharecropper system. He went to it with a will, using for demonstration purposes his chart illustrating the "plantation pyramid"—the whole weight of the soulless, impersonal system resting upon the masses at the bottom who raised the cotton.

When he had finished, McGee asked an adroit leading question. "Would you and your CIO colleagues change the sharecropper system?" he said.

"We would improve it," replied Claude.

The FBI man got up and put on his hat. "I'm through with him," he said. "As far as I'm concerned you can let him go." Somewhat to Claude's surprise, he added to McGee: "I agree it's important that anti-Semitism should be fought. I know several good organizations working in that field."

McGee was still unsatisfied, and back once more at the jail the grilling went on. Continuing the steady flow of questions, the detectives took Claude to dinner and then again back to the jail. It was becoming increasingly difficult for the preacher to master his tautened nerves, but he answered as soberly and good-humoredly as he could.

SOME time after nightfall McGee began to weary of repeating the same questions without getting any nearer to the answers he wanted. One of the detectives, unable to conceal his admiration for the preacher's astuteness, said:

"I don't agree with this man, but he's the smartest man we ever had in here."

McGee threw up his hands and told the preacher he could go.

"Well, goodby," said Claude.

"Oh," said McGee, "we'll be seeing you again."

If you do, Claude thought as he drove home through the semi-deserted streets, you'll be seeing me damned soon again. There was nothing to be gained now by delaying his already-planned departure from Memphis. He piled his papers and effects into boxes and loaded them on his car.

In the cool grey morning Memphis lay behind him as he sped northward toward Evansville. He had enough money for gasoline to take him there, and after that he was in the hands of God or whoever else would take an interest.

10th INSTALLMENT NEXT WEEK

"I Know Claude"

NASHVILE, TENN.

I thank you most heartily for printing "A Faith to Free the People." I have arranged for Claude Williams to hold the next round-up of his sharecropper ministers here. Our local smear sheet, the **Nashville Banner**, will doubtless headline the libel of the Un-American Committee but I know Claude. He not only is not a Communist but is a preacher of righteousness after the manner of the Old Testament prophets — most of whom suffered martyrdom. These Peglerized vultures would put Jesus on the proscribed list if he were here.

Alva W. Taylor

DO YOU HAVE 4 FRIENDS

See Page 4